THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXVII *July 1953* NUMBER 3

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE, *Honorary President*
FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D., *President*

LeRoy E. Kimball . . . . . *First Vice-President*
Louis C. Wills . . . . . *Second Vice-President*
Forsyth Wickes . . . . . *Third Vice-President*
Irving S. Olds . . . . . *Fourth Vice-President*
Archer M. Huntington . . . . . *Foreign Corresponding Secretary*
William T. Van Alstyne . . . . . *Domestic Corresponding Secretary*
De Witt M. Lockman . . . . . *Recording Secretary*
Thomas W. Streeter . . . . . *Treasurer*

Term Ending 1954	*Term Ending 1955*	*Term Ending 1956*
John E. Parsons	George A. Zabriskie	John V. Irwin
Rodney W. Williams	Charles E. Dunlap	Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
R. McAllister Lloyd	Lewis Gouverneur Morris	Edmund Astley Prentis
	Term Ending 1957	
Henry O. Havemeyer	Frederick B. Adams, Jr.	Hall Park McCullough

STANDING COMMITTEES

On Building
Henry O. Havemeyer
Charles E. Dunlap
Edmund Astley Prentis

On Law
Louis C. Wills
Forsyth Wickes
Irving S. Olds

On Lectures
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
Lewis Gouverneur Morris
John V. Irwin

On Library
LeRoy E. Kimball
Thomas W. Streeter
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
R. McAllister Lloyd

On Membership
John V. Irwin
William T. Van Alstyne

On Nominations
Henry O. Havemeyer
Charles E. Dunlap
John E. Parsons

On Fine Arts
Forsyth Wickes
DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A.
Henry O. Havemeyer
Hall Park McCullough
Charles E. Dunlap

On Museum
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Archer M. Huntington
Lewis Gouverneur Morris
John E. Parsons

On Finance
Thomas W. Streeter
LeRoy E. Kimball
William T. Van Alstyne
Forsyth Wickes
Rodney W. Williams

On Publications
LeRoy E. Kimball
Thomas W. Streeter
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.

Ex-Officio, All Committees
Dr. Beekman (President)
Mr. Streeter (Treasurer)
Mr. Vail (Secretary to the Board)

DIRECTOR . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL

DEPARTMENT HEADS

Librarian . . . . . Dorothy C. Barck
Curator of the Museum . . . . . Richard J. Koke
Editor . . . . . Charles E. Baker
Supervisor of Education . . . . . Francis W. Bilodeau
Supervisor of Public Relations . . . . . Meryle R. Evans
Superintendent of Buildings . . . . . Garrett H. Winter

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

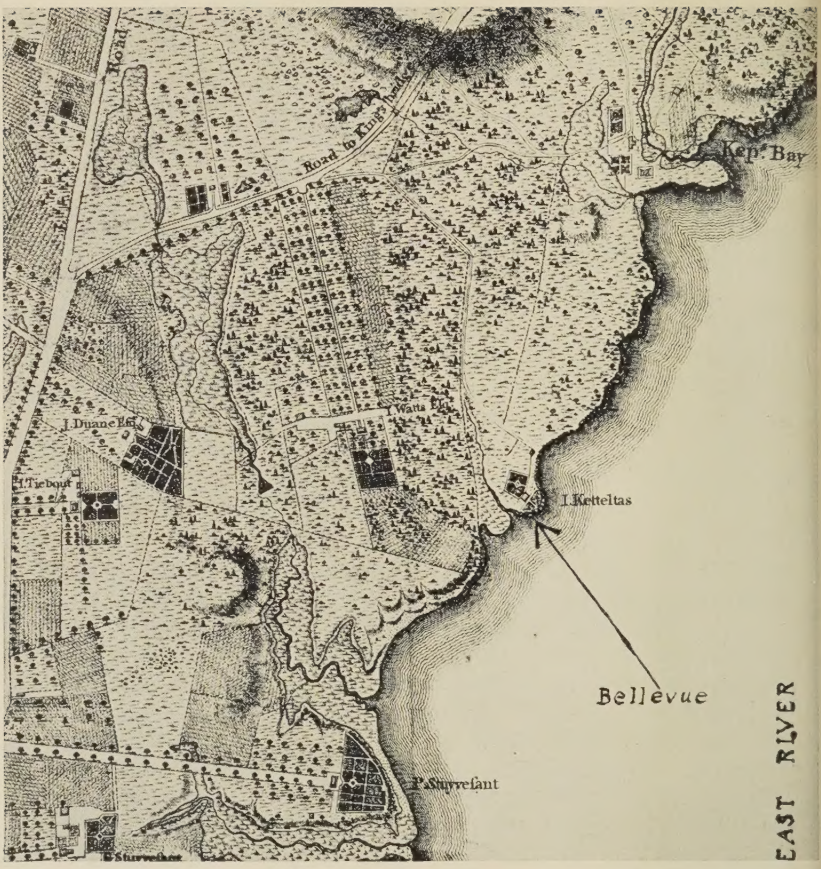
VOLUME XXXVII JULY 1953 NUMBER 3

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*
DAVID H. WALLACE, *Assistant Editor*

CONTENTS

The Origin of "Bellevue" Hosiptal . . . during the Yellow Fever Epidemics of 1793–1795 . . FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D. 205
The Five Nations of New York and Pennsylvania PAUL A. W. WALLACE 228
Renewals of Governor Nicolls' Treaty of 1665 with the Esopus Indians . . KENNETH SCOTT and CHARLES E. BAKER 251
Letters on the Chickasaw Removal of 1837 . JOHN E. PARSONS 273
Book Reviews and Notices:
Horner, *Lincoln and Greeley* . . . . . DAVID DONALD 284
Cawley, ed., *Diaries of Richard Cobden* . DAVID H. WALLACE 285
McCracken, *Portrait of the Old West* . . MARVIN C. ROSS 286
Ford, *Edward Hicks, Painter* . . . . . OPAL THORNBURG 287
Fleming, *R. R. Bowker, Militant Liberal* FREDERIC G. MELCHER 289
Clune, *Wild Colonial Boys* . . . . . JOHN E. PARSONS 290
Wright, *Geography in the Making* . . HAROLD E. HAMMOND 291
Morison, ed., Bradford's *Plymouth* . . WAYNE ANDREWS 292
Thompson, *Into All Lands* . . . . JULIEN GUNN, O.H.C. 293
Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone* . . . . ISIDORE S. MEYER 294
Simkin, *Currier & Ives' America* . MARY BARTLETT COWDREY 296
Hough & Crown, *The Campaign on New Britain* 297
Cary, *The Genteel Circle: Bayard Taylor and His New York* . 297
Parker, *Red Jacket* . . . . . ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE 298
Shepard, *Centennial and Bicentennial* 298
Gilman, *Melville's Early Life* . . . . DAVID H. WALLACE 299
Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* 299
Iacuzzi, *John Adams, Scholar* 299
Activities of the Society 300
Recent Accessions 302

The New-York Historical Society Quarterly is published in January, April, July and October by The New-York Historical Society at 170 Central Park West, New York 24, N. Y. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements made by contributors. Yearly subscriptions are $3.00; individual copies, 75 cents. Entered at the New York Post Office as second-class matter.



DETAIL OF THE RATZER MAP OF NEW YORK CITY, 1766–67

Showing the Keteltas property in the bed of present 25th Street east of First Avenue—the location of what became in 1794 the first Bellevue Hospital. The road at the left as far north as Tiebout's property on the map was The Bowery Lane, continuing northward as Bloomingdale Road (present Broadway). The Road to Kingsbridge (old Post Road) is shown branching off from Bloomingdale Road, at the site of present Madison Square, in a northeasterly direction and is met by the lane from Keteltas's property (later called Bellevue lane) approximately where the 1769 3-mile stone was placed. (See Richard J. Koke's milestone map, *NYHS Quarterly*, July 1950, p. 172.) The shoreline of East River extends in this detail approximately from the foot of present East 14th Street northerly to the foot of present East 40th Street. Location of the wharf where the sick were disembarked by boat (shown in Dr. Alexander Anderson's drawing of 1795 reproduced herein, page 215) is indicated by the arrow, which has been superimposed upon the Ratzer map.

From the map at The New-York Historical Society

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

July 1953

VOLUME XXXVII NUMBER THREE

New York: 170 Central Park West

THE ORIGIN OF "BELLEVUE" HOSPITAL

AS SHOWN IN THE NEW YORK CITY HEALTH COMMITTEE MINUTES DURING THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMICS OF 1793–1795

by FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D.

President, The New-York Historical Society

IT IS DIFFICULT for one who knows the built-up state of New York City as it is today, to imagine that only two hundred years ago the land near the shore-line of the Island of Manhattan—along the North River, the East River and the Harlem River—was occupied by country estates and farms owned by members of the first families of the City, little larger at that time than a village, occupying the southmost portion of the Island—from the Battery to about where we now find Park Lane.

One of these estates came into existence when in 1766 Peter Keteltas—who had married Elizabeth Van Zandt in 1746—built a commodious mansion "on a rocky point near a small meadow"

on the edge of the East River which commanded fine views of Long Island on the opposite shore and up and down the river. Keteltas had bought the property upon which he built—less than six acres in all—during the last part of the preceding year from Jacobus Kip of "Keps Bay," who resided on the adjoining estate to the north. To this was added in 1769, by purchase for £65 from John Watts, Keteltas's neighbor to the west, a triangular-shaped piece of land of about an acre, west of the small creek that flowed between it and the mansion. Keteltas's holdings in property extended from what is now 25th Street to above 26th and from a line west of the present First Avenue to the River. "The mansion stood in the bed of East 25th St. about 150 feet east of First Avenue." Robert J. Carlisle tells us in *An Account of Bellevue Hospital* (1893) that Peter Keteltas conveyed the property to Martin Hoffman, who conveyed it to Robert Leake, in 1772. Carlisle continues by informing us: "Leake gave the place the name of Belle View. In 1781, it was again sold, and in 1783 came into the possession of Lindley Murray." It is not known where Dr. Carlisle obtained this information, since these conveyances do not appear in the index of conveyances recorded in the Hall of Records in New York County, nor are they to be found there in the Block and Lot system. Further, Stokes did not discover any of these facts during the researches that were so carefully made for the *Iconography of Manhattan Island*.

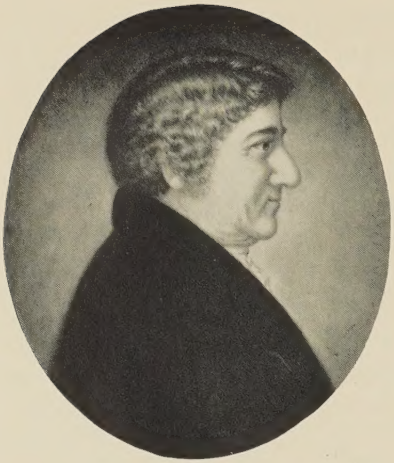
The next owner of Bel-Vue (the name has been spelled in a number of different ways) was Lindley Murray (1745–1826) but the definite date of the purchase of the property by him has not been established, as the deed to him has not been found. "He is," however, "recited as an owner here in 1786." Among the manuscript notes of Evert Bancker, to be found in The New-York Historical Society, is one of interest to us: "1782, June 8, Went with Mr. Goodrich to Belvoir and run the line between it and Mr. Watt's farm from the Great rock to the river." The great rock mentioned in this note of a survey of the property stood on a site just to the north of 25th Street and four hundred feet east of

Second Avenue. The survey could well have been made before the conveyance of the house and land to Lindley Murray, and it may be presumed that it was near this time that title was taken. It is stated in the *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lindley Murray* (1826) that "about the period of the establishment of American independence" he retired from business and, continuing, he informs the reader:

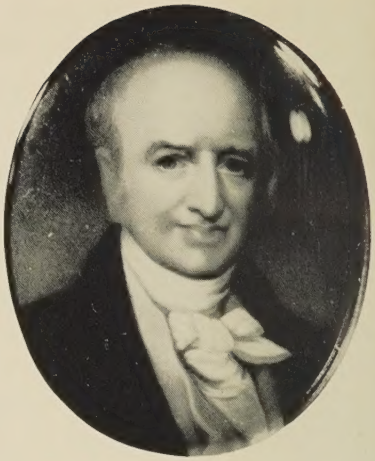
> I purchased a country seat on the banks of the river, about three miles from the city of New York. [Bellevue Lane led from the estate to the old Post Road near the three mile stone.] Here we promised ourselves every enjoyment that our hearts desired. Bellevue, for that was the name of our retreat, was most delightfully situated. A noble river, a mile in breadth, spread itself before us: a rich and pleasant country was on the opposite shore: and our view extended several miles both up and down the river. On this grand expanse of water, vessels and boats of various descriptions, were almost continually sailing. The house was neat and commodious; and accommodated with a spacious and elegant piazza, sashed with Venetian blinds; which added to its coolness in summer, and produced a most soothing and grateful effect. At the back of the mansion, was a large garden, well supplied with fruit, flowers, and useful vegetables: and in other directions from the house, were rows of various kinds of fruit trees, distinguished by their beauty and utility. In the rear of the house and garden, was a pleasant and fertile field, which afforded pastorage for the cattle. This little paradisiacal spot was perfectly to our wishes. Here we fondly hoped often to see our dearest connections, and to entertain our friends. Every comfort to be derived from useful and interesting society, would, we imagined, be heightened in the pleasing abode.

But this Garden of Paradise, as described above, was not to be the abode of Lindley Murray for long. Failing health caused him to seek another climate and he chose to leave America, his birthplace, to reside in York, England, where he became an author of some note, and was styled "the father of English Grammar." The following notice appeared in *The Daily Advertiser* (N.Y.) under the date of January 29th, 1788, and also in later issues:

> *For* SALE *or to be* LET, That beautiful COUNTRY SEAT, called BEL-VUE, situated on the Banks of the East-River, about 3 miles from the city; and as its properties in point of health and other advantages are well known, it is unnecessary to describe them. For terms, enquire of JOHN MURRAY, jun. No. 38, in Queen-street.



JOHN BROOME (1738–1810)
Copy by Charles C. Markham, 1889
N. Y. State Chamber of Commerce



ROBERT LENOX (1759–1839)
Miniature by unknown artist
Belknap Collection, NYHS

Chairman and secretary of the Committee which founded "Bellevue Hospital"

The index of conveyances in the Hall of Records shows the indenture of the resultant sale to have been recorded under the late date of July 11th, 1844, as follows:

On April 1, 1793, Lindley Murray, late of the City of New York, but then of York, Yorkshire, England, owner of the property in fee simple, and Hannah, His wife, through their attornies, John Murray and John Murray Jr., of New York City, conveyed to Brockholst Livingston, of New York City, who paid £2000, six acres, one rood and fifteen perches, in the 7th Ward (lately called the Out Ward) "called and known by the name of Belleview [*sic*]."...

It was thus that the ownership of the property returned to an heir of the original owner, since Henry Brockholst Livingston's wife was Catherine, the daughter of Peter Keteltas. It was on September 10th, 1794, as we shall learn, that the Common Council authorized Robert Lenox to acquire Bellevue through sublease from Nicholas Denise, who held a six-year tenancy of the property from Livingston.

Having presented the reader with a history of the country estate of Bellevue, let us now turn to a manuscript volume of the *New York City Health Committee Minutes*, covering the period between September 13th, 1793, and February 13th, 1796, so that we may learn of the negotiations undertaken by the City to acquire the property of Bellevue. The contents of this volume have not, as far as is known, been consulted before this by the historian, as the document has only recently come to light, having but lately become the possession of The New-York Historical Society through gift from the estate of the late Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr. Because of this, it is apparent that these minutes of the New York Health Committee have lain in obscurity for many years, since the time of Robert Lenox, the Secretary of the Committee and one of its most active members, and have been passed down through successive generations by inheritance to Mr. Belknap, a direct descendant of Lenox. It is through the courtesy of the Society that I have received permission to make use of this most interesting document.

In 1796 Valentine Seaman, M.D., wrote that New York City had suffered from a severe epidemic of yellow fever during the late summer and autumn of the year 1793. Although there is an entry in the *Minutes* which states that the first case of yellow fever was reported in New York City on September 15th, 1793, it is known that a number of cases had occurred during the unduly hot summer months of that year (see Packard's *History of Medicine in the United States*). This discrepancy was probably owing to difficulties in making correct diagnoses, as typhoid fever had been prevalent in the City during the spring and summer. However that may be, it seems certain that the yellow fever had not become really serious in New York before mid-September, but that the summer ravages of the epidemic in Philadelphia had made New Yorkers fearful that it might descend at any moment upon them.

The "Committee Appointed to Prevent the Introduction and Spreading of Infectious Diseases in this City" came into being,

according to the *Minutes*, on September 13th, 1793, having been appointed (so Mayor Varick informed the Common Council) by "the Inhabitants at a Meeting at the Coffee House." The original members were: Robert Bowne, Chairman; John Broome; White Matlack; Robert Lenox; Malachi Treat [M.D., Health Officer]; Nathaniel Hazard; and Dr. Samuel Bard [then Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, and Dean of the College of Physicians and Surgeons]. The Corporation of the City, on September 16th, "approved of the Measures taken by the said Committee" and "thereupon came to the following determination":

> Resolved and Ordered that Aldermen [Gabriel] Furman, [Isaac] Stoutenburgh, [Theophilus] Beekman & [John] Campbell and [Councilmen] Mess^rs^ [Frederick] Styme[e]ts, [Nicholas] Carmer and [George] Janeway be a Committee and that they in conjunction with the Committee appointed by the Inhabitants [are] to take every Measure which in their Judgment may be necessary to prevent the infectious Distemper now ranging at Philadelphia from being introduced into this City and that this Board [the Common Council of the City of New York] will answer the Consequences & Expences

This joint "Health Committee" took John Broome as its chairman. Governor Clinton re-appointed the same committee as a *State* committee, on August 22d, 1794, with Broome as Chairman, Lenox as Secretary, and Bowne as Treasurer. Andrew Van Tuyle replaced White Matlack on July 31st, 1795. A subcommittee was appointed on September 22d, 1793, its members representing the seven wards, whose duty it was to patrol the streets and prevent boats from landing on the shore.

Let us now turn to *The New York City Health Committee Minutes* and take the excerpts from them which concern the property of Bellevue.

> *September 18, 1793:* On motion Resolved that a Committee be appointed to report a proper house in the neighbourhood of the City for the use of such as it may be necessary to remove thereto. Mr. Carmer and Mr. Matlack were appointed.

> *September 19, 1793:* Alderman Campbell moved that instead of en-

deavouring to hire a house in the neighbourhood of the City for the use of such persons as it may be necessary to remove, a house be erected without delay on the Corporation ground for that purpose.

Dr. Bard moved an amendment "that no such house be erected unless one cannot be hired for the purpose." The amendment was agreed to.

September 20, 1793: Alderman Stoutenburgh reported that the house on Governors Island had been procured [as a hospital—pest house] for the use of such persons as it may be necessary to remove thither.

August 26, 1794: Resolved that it will be expedient under the present circumstances, that a place be purchased, or a suitable building erected on a proper place, for the purpose of accomodating such sick as may be brought into port and whom it would be improper to remove to the hospital, or to allow to remain in the city. Alderman Furman, Alderman Campbell and Alderman Beekman were appointed a Committee for the purposes aforesaid.

August 28, 1794: Alderman Furman from the Committee appointed for that purpose, reported that it was probable they would be able to procure a place at Red-hook to erect a house for the use of such sick as may be brought into this port.

August 29, 1794: Alderman Furman reported progress in the business referred to the Committee, of which he is Chairman, respecting the procuring a piece of ground to built a pest house on, and that they would finish the same by next meeting of the Committee if possible.

September 6, 1794: The Committee to whom was referred the procuring a place at red-hook to build an hospital upon, reported that they have not been able to bring the proprietor to any terms, and wished the opinion of the Committee what would be a reasonable compensation: whereupon it was Resolved that fifty Pounds p[er] annum would be the utmost sum that they could be authorized to allow for three years.

September 8, 1794: The Committee appointed to procure a place at Red-hook, on which to erect an hospital, reported that Mr. Vandyke, the proprietor, refused them the ground contemplated under one hundred pounds p[er] annum, which sum was deemed quite unreasonable: the Committee were therefore directed to point their attention elsewhere.

September 9, 1794: Alderman Stoutenburgh from the Committee appointed for the purpose of procuring a place to erect a house on, for the use of the sick who may come under the care of this Committee, reported that the point of land of Mr. Lakes estate to which they were directed to attend, could not be procured for the use of the Committee—but that they believed the powder-house could be procured from the Corporation if it would answer the purpose—or that ground might be got from them

on the Commons, and the Committee pointed out the place which they deemed proper. After debate thereupon, Dr. Bard moved that a Committee be appointed to enquire if the house and land at Bellevue is to be purchased, and at what price, and if possible to secure by a conditional bargain the refusal of it. Mr. Hazard seconded the motion and it was adopted unanimously. Mr. Lenox was appointed to have the same in charge.

A Committee consisting of the Chairman [John Broome], Dr. Bard, and Mr. Lenox were appointed to wait on the Corporation to solicit them to purchase the seat of Bellevue for a Pest house, and Mr. Lenox was desired to report to this Committee in order the more fully to enable them to enforce their application to the Corporation.

September 10, 1794: Mr. Lenox reported that he had entered into a conditional agreement with Nicholas Denise, the present possessor of Bellevue, which he stated and which was agreed to by the Committee, and the Corporation having by the report of Ald. Stoutenburgh agreed to and confirmed the same. Mr. Lenox was authorized to draw the sum of Five thousand dollars from the Bank of New York where the same was to be deposited by the Mayor and which is the sum agreed to be paid to Mr. Denise for his right to the said place, which he now holds on lease from B. Livingston at Ninety Pounds per annum with covenant to have the fee of the same for eighteen hundred pounds:–and Mr. Lenox was desired to have the agreement compleated as soon as possible.—Mr. B. Skaats was appointed under the direction of Mr. Lenox to take care of the premises:—and Mr. Lenox was directed to employ also an old Dutchman now living with Mr. Denise.

September 12, 1794: Mr. Lenox reported that he had compleated the agreement with Mr. Denise, paid him the Money and got the proper writings executed under the management of the Mayor, in the name of the Corporation of the city, and that he had got possession and given the place in charge to Mr. B. Skaats, and that he had purchased from Mr. Denise for the use of the Committee two cows and a calf, in prime order, for the sum of fifty dollars:—also that he had hired into the service of the Committee Mr. Denise's gardener, at ten dollars per month from this day, which man was recommended by Mr. Hazard. The Committee agreed to the report.

Mr. Lenox was directed to inform Mr. Denise that he should remove as soon as possible from Belle Vue, and to mention the purposes for which the place was bought, etc.

September 17, 1794: Resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to take measures to remove the stores of the Committee from Governors Island, and provide such other necessaries as they deem requisite for the use of such sick as may be removed to Bellevue. Mr. Stymeets, Mr.

Janeway and Mr. Hazard were appointed. It was judged necessary also to remove such bedding there as belonged to different persons, and which was ordered to Governor's Island last summer; that it may be well aired and cleansed and put in use at Bellevue, taking care that an Inventory thereof be taken in order to reimburse the owners when they appear.

Resolved that a Committee be appointed to take possession of Bellevue, and also an Inventory of the property there and report to this Committee. Alderman Furman and Alderman Campbell were appointed the Committee.

Resolved that it be advertised to receive proposals delivered to the Chairman on or before the first of next week for a suitable person to be Steward at Bellevue.

Resolved that a Committee of two be appointed to draw up Rules and Regulations for the government of the hospital at Bellevue, in order that the person who may be appointed to superintend the same may know what is expected from him. Alderman Furman and Alderman Campbell were appointed a Committee for this purpose.

September 19, 1794: Mr. Stymeets reported that the stores had been removed from Governor's Island to Bellevue, and that they were in the act of being cleansed: that they had not yet procured such other necessaries as may be wanted but would attend thereto.

Alderman Furman reported that the Committee for that purpose, had attended at Bellevue—that they had ascertained and taken an Inventory of the property there purchased with the place—that they had bought of Mr. Denise sundry articles for the use of the hospital which they reported to the Committee with a state of their cost, as per the same filed, and which will be more particularly reported next meeting.

Regulations for the government of the steward at Bellevue were adopted—likewise those for the matron.

September 22, 1794: Alderman Furman filed his report of the articles at Bellevue, and purchased from Mr. Denise, referred to in the proceedings of last meeting, which report was agreed to and confirmed by the Committee.

The rules for the regulation of the Steward and Matron at Bellevue, were again taken under consideration and deferred.

October 8, 1794: Resolved that the Committee appointed to provide Bellevue with necessaries, be directed to send there some Porter, Wine, Spirit Brandy, etc., and put the same under the care of the matron.

It being judged necessary to take measures to preserve the vegetables at Bellevue. Resolved that Mr. Fisher under the direction of the Committee consisting of Alderman Campbell and Alderman Furman, dig up the potatoes, etc., and that such part thereof be sold as the Committee may judge proper.

October 25, 1794: Ordered that the Committee appointed to take charge of Bellevue, purchase a boat for the use of that place. The Committee are Alderman Furman, Alderman Campbell, Mr. Stymeets, Mr. Janeway and Mr. Hazard.

November 6, 1794: On motion of Ald. Furman seconded by Mr. Lenox, Resolved that the sum of Two hundred and eighty Pounds be allowed for one years rent of Bellevue, to the Corporation of this city to commence at the time when the Corporation purchased the place at the instance of this Committee for a Lazeretto.

February 20, 1795: On motion, Resolved that Belle-vue be hired from the Corporation at the present rent until the first day of May, 1796.

April 6, 1795: On motion, Resolved that a Committee be appointed to have the charge and superintendence of Belle-vue as far as respects the houses, gardens and all other things respecting the management and improvement of the place. Mr. Janeway, Ald. Campbell, the Chairman, Ald. Furman, and Mr. Lenox were appointed the Committee.

Ordered that a seine be provided by the Belle-vue Committee for the use of the hospital.

April 6, 1795: At this time your Committee judged it highly necessary to procure a place at a proper distance from the inhabited part of this city to serve as a hospital for the accomodation and relief of such persons afflicted with contageous distempers as it might be found necessary to remove from this city, or from on board vessels: the necessary furniture—a medicine chest, and other contingent charges relative thereto make a considerable part of the whole sum expended in the execution of their trust.

Thus in prosecuting the trust reposed in your Committee they have expended the sum of Five hundred and forty-five pounds and sevenpence, independent of a further considerable sum, which your Committee will shortly have to pay for rent and other expences attending the hospital, etc.

July 31, 1795: Mr. Stymeets was directed to get Six pair of Sheets for the use of Belle Vue Hospital.

August 3, 1795: Mr. Stymeets was directed to provide Six Tubs for Belle Vue Hospital.

The Women passengers and Children were directed to be sent to Belle Vue and the Vessel with the Sick Man on board to perform Quarantine below the Fort.

August 6, 1795: Doctor Hicks[1] was also directed to take the care of

[1] John Bowne Hicks, M.D. (d. 1798?), a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1793, is found listed in the New York City Directories for 1793–1798.

BELLEVUE WHARF, 1795, WHERE THE HOSPITAL BOAT LANDED THE SICK

Drawn on wood by Charles Parsons and engraved by C. B. Dolge
After a watercolor by Dr. Alexander Anderson while resident physician
Lossing, *A Memorial of Alexander Anderson, M.D.* (NYHS: 1872), Plate XII

the Sick at Belle Vue Hospital until further regulations were made by the Committee.

The Chairman was directed to apply to Mr. Guerlain the Friend of the French Ladies now at Belle Vue to procure them lodgings at some convenient place out of the City. The Sick being sent there rendered their stay improper.

The Committee of Belle Vue Hospital were directed to take such measures as they saw proper in order to render it as convenient as possible for the Sick and to provide from time to time such necessaries as may in their Judgment be wanted. Also to procure as many Nurses as may be wanted. This Committee consists of

Al Forman	Mr. Janeway	Mr. Carman & Secretary
Al Campbell	Mr. Stymeets, The Chairman	

Dr. Bard & the Health Officer were directed to report to the Committee tomorrow evening a suitable person to be employed at Belle Vue to have Care of the Sick under their superintendence as it was not believed that Doctor Hicks could conveniently give that attendance which was proper.

August 7, 1795: Resolved that a Boat be provided with two good Oars-Men to be employed in such manner as the Committee may deem proper

—Referred that the Belle Vue Hospital Committee to provide the Boat.

Dr. Bard and the Health Officer to whom was referred the nomination of a Physician to reside at Belle Vue to take Care of the Sick there, recommended Dr. Anderson[2] a suitable person—The Committee confirmed the Report and that his allowance be Two Dollars and a half per Day during his actual residence there and that he be allowed Provisions and Necessaries which the Hospital affords.

The Committee reported that they had Procured a Cart with Harness Compleat for the use of Belle Vue Hospital.

August 8, 1795: The Committee have taken the most prompt and effectual measures to guard the Health of our fellow Citizens a House is prepared at Belle Vue for the reception of Sick persons who may be suspected of infection, with very agreeable accomodations, subsistance and Medical Aid.

August 10, 1795: Mr. Hazard moved that Dr. Anderson at Belle Vue be required to make Daily reports to this Committee respecting the State of the Sick at Belle Vue, which resolution was adopted.

August 12, 1795: Mr. Stymeets was requested to buy a Quarter Cask of Sherry Wine for the use of Belle Vue Hospital.

Resolved that the Belle Vue Hospital Committee be authorized to hire a Man as an assistant to Fisher at Belle Vue that the Old Man now there be discharged when his month is out.

August 13, 1795: The Chairman was requested to grant a permission for Mrs. Long and family to leave Belle Vue Hospital upon her procuring lodgings out of the compact part of the City, or upon her departing for Maryland.

James Dalton No. 26 Cherry Street was directed to be sent to Belle Vue Hospital and Mr. Janeway had the business in charge.

August 15, 1795: Mr. Stymeets was requested to procure a Dozen Sheets for the use of such Sick as may be sent to Belle Vue Hospital and who in the opinion of the Physician there may require the same.

August 17, 1795: Al. Beekman was requested to hire the Two Men he has heretofore employed to transport the Sick to Belle Vue, into the constant employ of the Committee on the best terms he can get them and report Tomorrow evening.

On report of Dr. Smith, resolved that such persons as may be sent to

[2] This was probably Anthony L. Anderson who was first listed in Longworth's *New York Register and City Directory* for 1795 as a "physician" at 461 Pearl Street where he continued to reside until 1806. Subsequent directories show him as a physician at other New York City addresses through 1844 45, after which his name appears no more.

Belle Vue and who are in a situation to pay for the use of the Hospital Physician, Nurses, etc. do pay for each Week—Four Dollars.

August 18, 1795: Al. Beekman reported that he had agreed with the Men contemplated in the Order of the Committee of last Evening: that he was to allow them one Dollar for each Patient sent to Belle Vue by order of the Committee.

August 19, 1795: . . . but on a reconsideration of the question it was resolved to employ the two Men with our own Boat to be in the Constant employ of the Committee for one Month certain to commence on the 12th Instant at Twenty five Dollars for each per month and it is understood that they are for this Compensation to attend the vessels performing Quarantine and carry the Sick from thence and from the City to Belle Vue and generally to perform such Duties as may be imposed on them by the Committee. It is also understood that the two Men hired by Alderman Beekman be discharged.

It was resolved that the Health Officer attend Belle Vue at least once a Week in order to give his Advice to the Physician and in case of need to attend such Calls as may be made by him. By Dr. Anderson at Belle Vue and that Dr. Smith[3] have it in charge—to see that a proper Re[port] of the Sick be kept in order that the Committee may have it in their power, to call for pay where it can be received.

Resolved that a Committee be appointed to report a Mode. for the collection of the Expences at Belle Vue Hospital and the Expence of Interments in order that the same may be put in a state of collection and report forthwith: Al. Stoutenburg, Al. Furman and Mr. Stymeets were the Committee.

August 21, 1795: Doctor Anderson at Belle Vue having been taken Sick Doctors Bard and Smith were directed to provide a suitable person to take charge of the Sick there and to send such a person out without delay.

Dr. Anderson having come to Town contrary to the wishes of the Committee and in Violation of their Rules—

It was resolved that Doctors Bard and Smith wait on him tomorrow and endeavour to persuade him to remove out of Town or to go back to Belle Vue Hospital.

And the Doctors were requested to report the Issue of their Interview to the Committee hereafter to be appointed at 7 o'Clock tomorrow and in the Event of their not prevailing on the Dr. to remove—That the Committee take such measures as they see proper in order that the resolutions of the Committee be complied with.

[3] This probably was Elihu Hubbard Smith (1771–1798), who contributed numerous articles on medicine during his short life. He was a victim of yellow fever.

August 22, 1795: The Brig Appollo having arrived from Savannah and a Man on board having been taken Sick and reported by Dr. Onderdonk to be ill with the prevailing Epidemic—

It was ordered that the Man be sent to Belle Vue and the Brig to go to the Stream to perform Quarenteene [t]ill further Orders.—

Drs. Bard and Smith were again requested to procure a person to go to Belle Vue to take care of the Sick there in the room of Dr. Anderson who is Sick.

Mr. Stymeets was requested to order that the Tents and Marquee's heretofore used at Governors Island be removed to Bell Vue for the use of the Sick.

August 23, 1795: In consideration of the Trouble which Mr. Stymeets has taken with the business of the Committee in providing for the Hospital at Belle Vue—and also from the Extra trouble which may hereafter be imposed on him—

On Motion of Mr. Lenox seconded by Mr. Hazard. Resolved that Mr. Stymeets be allowed ten shillings per Day for his services to Commence from the time when the first Sick were sent to Belle Vue and to continue during the pleasure of the Committee.

August 24, 1795: Dr. Smith reported that he had procured a Young Gentleman to attend Belle Vue—Doctor Alexander Anderson.[4]

August 25, 1795: Resolved that as soon as any Patient shall arrive at Belle Vue—The Physician of the Hospital shall request of him to have the custody of any Property he may have, giving a receipt for it—and in Case of Death—that the whole shall be lodged in the Hands of the Chairman who deducting the Expenses of the Patient, shall pay the Balance to his Administrator or in default of any to the Consul of the Nation he belongs to.

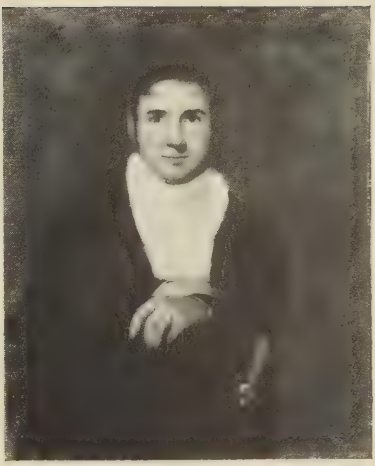
August 30, 1795: The Committee reported this Evening, Four Deaths in Town and two at Belle Vue, and that the Violence of the Disease had considerably abated.

September 5, 1795: A report of the State of Belle Vue of the 4th read—

Mr. Defour was appointed to collect from those that have it in their power to pay such expences as have accrued to the Hospital at Belle Vue and those of Burying of the Dead under the direction of the Committee, and to pay such money to the Treasurer from time to time taking receipts for the same.

[4] This was Alexander Anderson (1775–1870) who was better known as an engraver than as a physician. His anatomical study, a wood engraving, is well known to the medical historian. The New-York Historical Society published (1872) *A Memorial of Alexander Anderson, M.D., the First Engraver on Wood in America* (107 pages, illus.) by Benson J. Lossing. See also "Alexander Anderson, M.D., 1775–1870," by the late Walter B. Mount, M.D., F.A.C.S., in the *New York State Journal of Medicine* for March 1, 1943, 440–446.

SAMUEL BARD, M.D. (1742–1821)
Vanderlyn P[t] M[c]Clelland Del. W. Main S[c]
M'Vicker's *Life of Samuel Bard* (1822)



ALEXANDER ANDERSON (1775–1870)
By John Wesley Jarvis, *c.* 1804–06
Metropolitan Museum of Art

September 6, 1795: It was resolved that Doctor Buxton be called to Account for the declaration made by him "That none of the persons sent to Belle Vue by the Committee of Health but 'had Died.'"

September 7, 1795: Doctor Buxton was desired to attend before the Committee upon the subject of his Declaration "That no person had been sent to Belle Vue but that died."

Doctor Buxton attended the Committee and confessed that he had used the expression above alluded to and entered into a justification of his conduct, but time requiring more important business was deferred until another opportunity.

On Motion of Mr. Hazard resolved that the Committee do declare that the Declaration of Doctor Buxton is unfounded.

It was amended by resolving that a Committee be appointed to go to Belle Vue in order to ascertain the number, admitted, cured and discharged and also to report the State of Belle Vue to the Committee and also to report the subject of their enquiries to the Committee tomorrow Evening. Al Van Tuyl, Al Campbell, Mr. Stymeets and Mr. Lenox were the Committee.

September 8, 1795: The Committee appointed to go to Belle Vue reported that they had found the Hospital in a comfortable situation and the Patients there enjoying as much Comfort as was possible in their situation and the Patients there.

That they had reason to commend the Conduct of the Doctor the Nurses and attendants—They also furnished a statement of the Hospital from the time the first Sick Man went there to this Day.

The Chairman reported that he had sent the Report of the Committee to the Governor

A report was made this Evening that Seven persons had Died—

The report above alluded to was not published.

September 9, 1795: A Committee were appointed consisting of Al Stoutenburg, Al Furman, and Doctor Smith to make a statement of Belle Vue Hospital for Publication together with such circumstances pursuant thereto as they think proper.

September 10, 1795: Al Stoutenburg from the Committee appointed last evening to prepare a report of Belle Vue Hospital—for Publication—Reported progress and begged leave to be continued.

September 12, 1795: On Motion resolved that a Committee be appointed to visit Belle Vue Hospital once in a week and report the subject of their Examinations—The Committee for the present vizitation are Al Campbell, Mr. Stymeets and Mr. Bowne.

September 16, 1795: It was moved and seconded that a Committee be appointed to make further provisions for the accomodation of the Sick at Belle Vue.

Al Stoutenburg from the Committee to make further provision for Sick at Belle Vue reported progress.

September 19, 1795: Al Campbell from the Committee appointed to procure means to transport persons to Belle Vue by Land reported progress.

Dr. Anderson having represented that the Hospital at Belle Vue is full and not capable of containing any more Patients—Thereupon resolved, that Doctor Bard and Al Campbell visit Belle Vue tomorrow and report upon the subject in the mean time, that no more patients be ordered there unless it be a special Case indeed, until further regulations be made in the premises.

September 20, 1795: Reported this Day seven persons in this City and four at Belle Vue having Died since last Report.

Al Stoutenburg Chairman of the Committee to provide more accomodations at Belle Vue reported progress.

Al Campbell from the Committee appointed to go to Belle Vue reported that the restriction of sending persons to Belle Vue may be taken off

Resolved that a Committee be appointed to procure such Aid and provide such necessaries for the Comfort of the Sick at Belle Vue as they may judge necessary—The Committee were Al Campbell, Dr. Smith, Dr. Bard and Mr. Stymeets.

List of Patients

Under Medical Care, for the Epidemic Yellow Fever, in

BELLE-VUE HOSPITAL,

1795.

Names	Entered	Cured	Died	
Wm Richards			Aug. 5.	
Long			Aug. 5.	West India Planter
Mat. Colclpton			Aug. 13.	Labourer, Water St.
Mary			Aug. 22	
Mrs. Smith			Aug. 22	Water St.
Mullen			Aug. 22	Pilot
Geo. Brown		Aug. 21		Mariner.
Rob. Smith		Aug. 26		Labourer
Han. Mayo	Aug. 16	Sept. 3.		Mulatto Servant. Water St.
John Lambson		Sept. 23		Mariner.
Thos. Dolliston		Sept. 3.		Mariner
Jeremiah				Negro Servant.
Mary Reley	Aug. 23	Sept. 6		Servant Girl
Jn. Slatery			Aug. 26.	Mariner.
Unknown			Aug. 23	Within half an hour after admission.
Jn. Murphy	Aug. 24.		Aug. 29.	Labourer, Water St.
Jn. H. Higginbotham	Aug. 25.		Aug. 25	English Officer. Died within an hour.
Eliz. Gantz.	Aug. 26		Aug. 29	Servant Girl, Water St.
Amos Jessop	Aug. 27		Aug. 27.	Blacksmith. Died within 2 hours
Ch. Fredericks	— 26		Oct. 31	
Ch. Roberts	— 31	Nov. 9		Mariner
Rob. Barber	— 31	Nov. 4		Printer.

Alex.r Anderson,
Resident Physician from Aug. 24 to the 11. Nov. — assisted, during most of the time by Drs Johnson & Mc Farlane. —

PARTS OF FIRST AND LAST PAGES OF DR. ANDERSON'S BELLEVUE RECORD

Kept pursuant to the Committee's resolution of August 10, 1795. Manuscript on display in the Society's current exhibition relating to "The Healing Art in Old New York," along with other contemporary items concerning the yellow fever epidemic of 1795 (see herein p. 202)

September 22, 1795: Reported Dead this Evening Fifteen persons including four at Belle Vue.

September 23, 1795: The number of Deaths since our report of last Evening are Sixteen in this City and three at Belle Vue.

September 24, 1795: The number of Deaths since our report of last evening are fourteen in this City and five at Belle Vue.

On Motion resolved that a Committee be appointed to report a system of arrangement, and Rules for the government of Belle Vue Hospital.

September 25, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Twenty seven in this City and Four at Belle Vue.

Doctor William Pitt Smith from the Committee to appoint a System of arrangement and Rules for the Government of Belle Vue Hospital, informed the Committee that they were not ready to report, but expected to be prepared to report tomorrow Evening.

September 26, 1795: The Committee appointed to report a System of arrangements etc. for Belle Vue made no report.

The number of Deaths Reported this Evening are Twenty five in this City and six at Belle Vue.

September 27, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening are Twenty two in this City and Five at Belle Vue.

September 28, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were fourteen in this City and three at Belle Vue.

Dr. Smith from the Committee appointed to prepare a system of arrangement for the regulation of Belle Vue Hospital reported a Draft of a set of Rules for that purpose, which was read and referred for future consideration.

A Letter was read from Doctor Samuel Nicoll dated this Day in which he generously offered his Service to Visit the Hospital at Belle Vue daily until the Fever assumes a less formidable aspect whereupon it was ordered that the Chairman return the thanks of the Committee to Doctor Samuel Nicoll for his Humane and benevolent offer and to signify to him their cheerful acceptance of his proposal to Visit the Hospital at Belle Vue for the purpose of giving his friendly advice as often as he can make convenient.

A Letter was read from Mr. John Mason Dated Philadelphia 22d Sept^{er} 1795 in which he offers his Service to come to this City for the purpose of being employed as a Manager or Clerk at Belle Vue Hospital, provided suitable encouragement be given him, together with something being secured to his family in case of his death—The Chairman was directed to inform Mr. Mason, that as they were supplied with necessary assistance, they were not under the necessity of accepting his proposal.

September 29, 1795: The number of Deaths reported since last Evening are Eleven in the City and three at Belle Vue.

September 30, 1795: Reported this Evening Thirteen persons to have died in Town and one at Belle Vue.

Doctor Johnston left Belle Vue Yesterday a little indisposed, without leave from the Committee and Doctor Dingley informed Al Furman and Al Stoutenburg that it was by his advice and that he Carried a Chair there for that purpose.

October 1, 1795: Reported this [evening] Eight persons to have Died in this City and two at Belle Vue.

October 2, 1795: The number reported this Evening to have died with the Epedemic were Eleven in the City and three at Belle Vue.

October 3, 1795: The number of Deaths reported in this City are Eleven and two at Belle Vue, this Evening.

October 4, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Day were Twenty five in this City and four at Belle Vue.

October 5, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Seventeen Persons in this City and five at Belle Vue.

October 6, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening are thirteen in this City and four at Belle Vue.

October 7, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening are fourteen in this City and Two at Belle Vue.

October 8, 1795: The number of persons reported to have Died this Daye were Thirteen in the City and two at Belle Vue.

October 9, 1795: The number reported to have Died this Day were fifteen in Town and three at Belle Vue.

October 10, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Eight in this City and four at Belle Vue.

October 11, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening are Ten in this City and one at Belle Vue.

October 12, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening are Eleven in this City and none at Belle Vue.

October 13, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening are Eleven in this City and one at Belle Vue.

Whereas in consequence of the unauthorized visits of certain transient persons to the Hospital at Belle Vue abuses and embezzlements have taken place therein—And Whereas it is necessary for the good order and comfort of the same, that such improper Visits and practices should be prevented therefore resolved that no person be permitted under any pretense whatever to Visit the said Hospital unless accompanied by a

Member of this Board, or by permission of some Member thereof obtained in Writing—

Ordered that the Chairman cause the foregoing Resolve to be printed in one or more of the Public Newspapers in this City.

October 14, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Nine in the City and none at Belle Vue.

The Chairman reported that the person said to be landed from the Sloop Rainbow was a Robert Seaman and that he was ill of a Malignant Fever—He therefore ordered him to Belle Vue—And the Sloop to perform Quarantine till the further Orders of the Committee.

October 15, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Eleven in this City and three at Belle Vue Hospital.

October 16, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Eleven in Town and one at Belle Vue.

October 17, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Seven in this City and one at Belle Vue.

October 18, 1795: The Number of Deaths reported this Evening are Seven in this City and one at Belle Vue.

October 19, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Six in the City and three at Belle Vue.

October 20, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Five in the City and one at Belle Vue.

October 21, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Six in this City and two at Belle Vue.

October 22, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Four in this City and none at Belle Vue.

October 23, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Nine in the City and one at Belle Vue.

October 24, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Seven in this City and one at Belle Vue.

On Motion of Al Stoutenburg seconded by Mr. Bowne Resolved that application be made to the Corporation of this City for an advance of Three hundred pounds towards the settlement of Belle Vue Hospital and the further Sum of £200 for the purpose of relieving poor and distressed persons in consequence of the present Epedemic.

Resolved that a suitable person be employed to collect such Monies as are due to this Committee for removal to, Maintenance and Medical Aid at Belle Vue, and also for the expence of Interments where the Estate of the Deceased will justify such a demand.

October 25, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Four in the City and none at Belle Vue.

October 26, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were Four in the City and None at Belle Vue.

October 28, 1795: The number of Deaths reported this Evening were One in the City and one At Belle Vue.

November 2, 1795: But three persons have died on the last four Days in this City and but three at Belle Vue since the 27th of October of Fever in any degree resembling our late Epidemic.

The present state of Belle Vue Hospital is pleasing, not only from it we anticipate the speedy extinction of all disease therein, but from the happy and comfortable situation of the Sick and from the satisfaction expressed by them with respect to their Medical aid and treatment and attendance—But three patients have been received the last Ten Days—There are now thirteen Sick in the Hospital—twelve of whom are considered as out of all Danger—Since its first Establishment Eighty nine persons have been discharged Cured. The Deaths have been published with our Daily Reports.

It is with great satisfaction that we remark that although some of the people have been slightly affected with the Epidemic, no one has Died.

Much to the injury of the unfortunate persons who have been sent to this place its circumstances have been grossly misrepresented. The sick have in consequence, in numerous instances, sought this Assylum with Hearts aching with anxiety and Despair.

A Senior consulting Physician was early appointed to visit it occasionally from this City. From its first establishment, one, and since the Twenty fourth of September—Two Physicians have constantly resided within its walls. A new building has been erected during the Sickness has been spared to render the Sick Commodious and happy. A Committee from this Board have made frequent Visits and examination of its circumstances and from time to time have witnessed with pleasure its improving state.

A more vigilant humane or attentive Man was never appointed purveyor to an Hospital than our late worthy member Mr. Frederick Steymeets, whose Death reminds us of the loss of our other Friend and associate Doctor Malachi Treat who there is reason to suspect was also a Victim to the discharge of faithful Duty. The Public will join with us in deploring the loss of such worthy and respectable members of Society.

Before we dismiss the subject of the Hospital it is but just that we acknowledge our sense of the Merit of Doctor Alexander Anderson and Doctor McFarlin resident Physicians at Belle Vue. Both for their persevering attention Humanity and fidelity to the Sick as they have—deserved well of their Country.

November 13, 1795: Resolved that the Chairman be authorized to apply to the Corporation for the Sum of One thousand Dollars towards defraying the Expences of Belle Vue Hospital.

The number of Patients now at Belle Vue being only four in number and they in a Convalescent state—Resolved that a Committee consisting of Al Campbell Al Furman and Mr. Bowne do cause the said Patients to be removed from thence to the City Hospital or the Alms House as their circumstances may require.

November 17, 1795: The Committee appointed to clear Belle Vue Hospital reported that they had compleated the same and that the House was now under a State of Purification.

Resolved that Doctors Anderson and McFarlan[5] be allowed Four Dollars each per Day for their attendance at Belle Vue.

January 28, 1796: Report to the Governor

The chief expence has arrisen from the maintenance of the Hospital at Belle Vue. The principal Building there was found inadequate for the reception of the Sick, and necessity compelled the erection of another under all the disadvantages of a hasty procural of materials and workmen. Uncommon exertions were necessary to render the situation of the Patients comfortable, not from motives of Humanity alone, which on such occasions ought doubtless to outweigh all other, but in consequence also of the extreme of dispair to which those were subject who became its objects and also from the desire to over come prejudices which are naturally suggested but which are apt to defeat in some measure the benevolent object of every Lazaretto.

The Disease continued among us about Three Months—Nearly 750 of the inhabitants fell a sacrifice to it. There were admitted into the Hospital at Belle Vue 238 Patients. And 436 persons were buried at the Public Expence.

During the summer and autumn of the year 1797, the City was more or less free of yellow fever and the buildings at Bellevue were not used as a hospital. It is said that it became a public house during the summer of this year. The fever returned in epidemic form in 1798, making great ravages in the City. Bellevue was again opened as a hospital during April-November of this year and was used for pestilential cases intermittently thereafter, particularly during the yellow fever epidemics of 1803 and 1805,

[5] Dr. Carlisle says: "The hospital was in charge of Dr. John McFarlane, who acted under authority of the Commissioners of Health." John McFarlane did not have an M.D. degree, having been admitted to practice by a committee of physicians. (See *New York Daily Advertiser*, May 14, 1796.)

after which the disease is said to have reappeared no more for fourteen years. "Thus," says Carlisle, "the history of the first hospital to bear the name Belle Vue is to all intents and purposes the history of the epidemics of yellow fever which ravaged the city for eleven years." But that history was the beginning of Bellevue Hospital as we know it today, for in 1811 the City Fathers moved to set up a permanent establishment there.

Bellevue was purchased from Brockholst Livingston by the City on April 19th, 1798, for the sum of £1800. In 1811 six additional acres north of the Ketcltas-Murray-Livingston property of Bellevue (east of Second Avenue and between 26th and 28th Streets) were purchased by the City from the heirs of Samuel Kip, and to that an adjoining triangular piece was added in 1814. On this property the City built a new almshouse and two hospital pavilions, under construction from 1811 to 1816. On April 22d of the latter year, "the Bellevue committee reported that the buildings were ready to receive their guests, and steps were at once taken to formally open the establishment." These buildings and subsequent additions were enclosed in 1818 by a ten-foot-high wall—and all together were called "the Bellevue Establishment"—the nucleus of our present Bellevue Hospital.

STAFFORDSHIRE PLATE SHOWING BELLEVUE, 1816

By Andrew Stevenson after W. G. Wall engraving in Blunt's *Stranger's Guide to the City of New York*, 1817

Gift of Samuel V. Hoffman, 1922

THE FIVE NATIONS OF NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA

by PAUL A. W. WALLACE*

SENSIBLE PEOPLE no longer believe in Indians—Indians, that is, of the Fenimore Cooper tradition. But I belong to a happy generation that nourished its youth on *The Leatherstocking Tales*. We used to spend our vacations playing Indian. We modeled ourselves on the Mohawks because they were the most fiendish of Cooper's Mingoes, and we acted out all the clichés. We roamed the forest with stealthy step, and of course we never let a twig snap. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive!"

The one regrettable thing about those golden days is that they have left us now prey to a feeling of shock and disillusionment whenever we meet a real Indian. Gone is the tomahawk, reeking with the blood of innocent victims. Gone is the scalping knife. In its place the Indian of today carries a billfold and a driver's license. He slams the door on Cooper's vision of the past.

Last summer I visited a Mohawk friend of mine, Philip Cook, on the St. Regis Mohawk Reservation in upstate New York. Mr. Cook wears the same kind of clothes my friends do, speaks English more fluently than most of us do, and knows a great deal more about automobiles and electrical appliances than any of us

* Dr. Wallace, editor of *Pennsylvania History*, is the author of several books on Indian and Colonial history, including *The White Roots of Peace* and the biography of Conrad Weiser (reviewed in this *Quarterly*, October 1946, pp. 254–5), and is currently preparing a comprehensive survey of Indian trails of Pennsylvania for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. This article is based on a paper read before members and friends of The New-York Historical Society on May 5, 1953. The drawings which flank the title represent Atotarho (see note 11 and the text to which it pertains) and the Eagle That Sees Afar (see note 12 and the text to which it pertains), reproduced from *The White Roots of Peace* by courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Press.

do. We got talking about things in general: the world situation, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Korea. Coming closer home, we discussed the condition of the Indians in the United States. He told me about a motor trip he had recently taken with his family to visit the Navajo in New Mexico. He had gone to see for himself whether things were as bad there as the newspapers reported them to be. He spoke gravely about this. He had found their situation unimaginably bad. But he talked without bitterness.

"The fault is not entirely the white man's," he said. "It is true, the white man's broken promises keep the Navajo short of schools, hospitals, and other help they desperately need. But the Navajo must share the blame. They live too much in the past. It is a good thing," he went on, "to preserve the best of our traditions. But it is not good for any people to try to live as their ancestors lived three or four hundred years ago. People must adapt themselves to changing conditions or they will perish."

How well the Mohawks have adapted themselves is attested by Philip Cook himself and his splendid family. Take a look at his handsome house on the banks of the St. Regis River. Walk into Mrs. Cook's all-electric, white-enameled, spotless kitchen. Then, for contrast, cast your mind back to the time when Champlain, with a few harquebuses, routed a Mohawk war party armed with bows and arrows. Think, too, of the home life of the ancient Mohawks, several families living together in a bark longhouse, cooking over fires set on the earthen floor, with smoke holes instead of chimneys to carry off the soot. Now let your mind jump forward again to the present, and think of the Mohawk colony here in New York City. The Mohawks, as you know, are great steel workers. They possess a remarkable sense of balance, which gives them an advantage in high construction work. They walk the steel girders without fear, catching the red-hot rivets as they are thrown up from below. There is no talking or shouting to distract the attention. Signals are given by bells. Working thus silently, but with incredible speed, they have

achieved a supremacy in high construction work on skyscrapers and bridges. The New York skyline, miracle of modern engineering, is a monument to the Mohawks and their success in adapting themselves to our mechanical world.

When we white people hear about the changing Mohawks, we have a tendency to congratulate these reformed heathen on having renounced savagery and caught hold of the tail of the comet Progress. For this complacency, I think we deserve correction. To "make the punishment fit the crime," I propose another comparison: not the Indian of three or four hundred years ago compared with the white man of today, but the white man of three or four hundred years ago, who seldom took a bath, lived often in a two-roomed shack with pigs and cows "'yont the hallan," and who for amusement attended the noble sports of bear-baiting, witch-burning, and hanging petty thieves—compare *him* with the man who now lives in a many-roomed house with baths all over the place, enjoying his winter flight to Miami Beach, and sitting before a TV set to watch the coronation ceremonies in England.

To return to our Mohawks: After calling on Philip Cook I looked up another Mohawk friend, Ray Fadden, schoolteacher, author, illustrator, and organizer of young people's activities. I found him at Lake George, superintending the recently opened Indian village there, where you may see Indian dances performed by a band of his Mohawk boys, and examine different types of ancient Indian houses: longhouse, wigwam, teepee. Ray is hoping to grow a garden there showing the more important plants which the Indian has contributed to the world's food supply. These make an impressive list: not only "the Three Sisters," corn, beans, and squash, but also potatoes, turnips, pumpkins, peanuts, cocoa, vanilla, and a host of others, providing, in bulk, no less than half of the world's agricultural products. It is Ray Fadden's belief that the white man owes as much to the Indian (of North and South America) as the Indian owes to the white man.

It is not only in material things that the Indian has made a contribution to our civilization. We owe him a debt also in things of the mind. The column here, of course, is not easy to add up. Precise figures are unobtainable. The Indians did not leave written records, and most of our own people who had contact with them in the old days were interested only in land purchases, war, and trade. It is, therefore, impossible to say how much American political democracy owes to the example of Indian councils, or how great an impetus to the union of the colonies came from the Iroquois Confederacy—the famous Five Nations (Six Nations after the adoption of the Tuscaroras)—which so greatly impressed Benjamin Franklin.

But there is one contribution the Indians have made to our intellectual life which we can speak about with some exactness, and that is Indian history. Hitherto, admittedly, it has received little attention from the white man, or, if noticed at all, it has been misinterpreted. Indian history is no more adequately represented by the scalpings and massacres which we white people love to gnash our teeth over, than American history is by Hiroshima or the sawed-off-shotgun episodes which only a few years ago figured so largely in our newspapers.

The Indians of New York State have had a great history. If rightly understood, it will provide a stimulus to our own love of the country which today belongs to all of us, Indians, and white men alike. If our patriotism is to have depth, it must be more than a mere acceptance of approved political doctrines, however good these may be. It must find roots, as the Indians did, in the land itself. Our patriotism will find nourishment in the story of those who were here before us and whose dust now enriches our fields. The lives of all those who have loved this land belong to us who now inhabit it. Indian history is our history, and it is our loss if we neglect it.

To citizens of New York State, I suppose Indian history is, as it should be, primarily the story of the Iroquois Confederacy, which was, during the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth

century, this country's staunchest ally. But the greatness of the Five Nations rests on something more profound than that, something of which that alliance was only a symptom. Those who are privileged to live in the great City of New York, which houses the headquarters of the United Nations (man's greatest and perhaps last attempt to save himself from annihilation in war), will appreciate the significance of the words spoken by Deganawidah, founder of the Five Nations, at Onondaga some five centuries ago: "Our strength shall be in union, and our way the way of wisdom, righteousness, and peace." The United Nations of the Iroquois, whose symbols were a sheaf of arrows bound with deer sinews to make them unbreakable, and the Great White Pine or Tree of Peace whose boughs were to shelter all the nations of the earth, were leaders in the great story of the ascent of man.

If that seems a strange thing to say about the Iroquois, whom not only Fenimore Cooper but even so great a man as Francis Parkman considered non-human—actually worse than the beasts, being impelled (as these writers thought) by mere blood lust as evidenced in the scalping of children and torture of prisoners—I would ask you to remember that no people in time of war (and even in time of peace, for that matter) is immune to the charge of cruelty, though particular fashions in torture, mental and physical, and the degree of public approbation which they receive, may vary in different times and in different places. The words *Buchenwald* and *Siberia* do not fall pleasantly on our ears today, but we would hesitate to consign to limbo all the compatriots, past and present, of Goethe and Tolstoy because Hitler and Stalin had lived among them. We judge a people, not by their criminals and fanatics, but by their men of vision. It is Washington and Lincoln, not Benedict Arnold and John Wilkes Booth, who are the true representatives of our nation. In like manner we should take Deganawidah and his followers, not some nondescript warriors whose atrocities have been recorded by their enemies, as representatives of the Iroquois genius.

I will confess to you that I think the chief jewel in the crown of the Empire State lies not in "The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces" of its metropolis but in a small Indian reservation at Onondaga, near Syracuse, where Deganawidah planted the Tree of Peace and delivered his message to the world. "The land shall be beautiful," declared one of his followers, many years later, inviting the French in Canada to come and sit with the Iroquois under that Tree—"The land shall be beautiful, the rivers shall have no more waves, one may go everywhere without fear." A far cry that from the Mingoes of Fenimore Cooper, whose travesty on a great people we have accepted for over a hundred years as Indian gospel.

What has gone wrong? Why have we not applied to the Iroquois the criterion we apply to other people, whom we judge not by their worst but by their best human products? A brief glance at our own history will supply the answer.

Throughout the Colonial period, the Five Nations Confederacy stood by us like a loyal friend. Whether as active allies or as benevolent neutrals, during our long struggle with the French in America, the Iroquois stood like a wall of fire between us and our enemy. During the years leading up to and through the Seven Years War, it was the chief claim to distinction, first, of Conrad Weiser of Pennsylvania, and later of William Johnson of New York, to have kept the chain of friendship bright between our Colonial capitals of Albany and Philadelphia and the capital of the Six Nations at Onondaga.

When, however, the Revolution came, Indian councils, like those of the white men, were divided. The Oneidas and a large part of the Tuscaroras sided with the Thirteen Fires, as they called us then. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, and Cayugas sided with the King, in whose name, up to that time, their treaties with us had been made. For this decision on their part, it was difficult for our people to forgive them. In our anger, we forgot what they had done for us in the past, we even forgot those among them who were now fighting on our side. General Clin-

ton's armies destroyed the Oneida towns. After the war, we continued to forget. We forgot that Lafayette's bodyguard had been a Tuscarora Indian. We forgot that it was a body of Six Nations Indians who had saved Lafayette's army in the spring of 1778 when it was trapped by the British at Barren Hill.[1] The incident makes one of the best stories of the whole Valley Forge episode. While Lafayette's men tried to escape by crossing the Schuylkill at the breast-deep Matson's Ford, a body of seventy Oneidas was left behind in a little bit of woods to protect their rear. As the British cavalry poured down the bank to catch the men in the river, the Oneidas emerged suddenly with a war cry which put the horses to flight. When the American army had got safely over, the Oneidas plunged in and swam across after them.

Forgetting these things in the aftermath of the war, we labeled the whole Confederacy hostile. Early in the next century, Fenimore Cooper, seizing on this prejudice, exploited it and stereotyped the Mingoes (by which he meant the Six Nations) as a vile race of demons, beyond the pale of humanity. And so they remained throughout the nineteenth century. Even now, when enlightened views of the Indians are appearing in books and movies and popular magazines,[2] we are still barbarously ignorant of the Six Nations. Did you know that, although to meet them casually you would not notice they were any different from what we call the average American, they still elect chiefs to Deganawidah's roster, still preserve their records in the hands of appointed "wampum keepers," still worship according to the creed of Handsome Lake? Did you know, moreover, that they are putting up their own monuments, at their own expense, to their ancient heroes,[3] and that, despite these marks of pride in their own past and their own future, they are with us to the hilt in our

[1] See Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's Journal, May 14 and 23, 1778: Lutheran Archives, Mt. Airy Theological Seminary. See also *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania*, by Paul A. W. Wallace (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 161–63.

[2] See, for instance, Conrad Richter's *The Light in the Forest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953) which was recently serialized in *The Saturday Evening Post*.

[3] A monument to Deganawidah, founder of the Five Nations Confederacy, has recently been erected by the Mohawks at his birthplace near the Bay of Quinte, Ontario.

struggle against tyranny? During the Second World War they put into the field, alongside our boys, more warriors than they had ever assembled before in all their history, even in the days when they controlled an empire as large as that of ancient Rome. I have the names, nearly three thousand of them, compiled and published by Ray Fadden as a tribute to those of his people who fought with us for freedom.[4] Perhaps, if we study their history anew, we may come to admire them again as our forefathers used to. We may even catch a glimpse of the vision Cadwallader Colden had when he wrote:

> The *Five Nations* are a poor and, generally called, Barbarous People, bred under the darkest Ignorance; and yet a bright and noble Genius shines through these black Clouds. None of the greatest *Roman* Heroes have discovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death, than these People called Barbarians have done, when Liberty came into Competition.[5]

More recently another historian of the Five Nations, John Collier, former United States Superintendent of Indian Affairs, writing with all the advantage of modern research into the constitution of the Confederacy, went so far as to say this: "I think no institutional achievement of mankind exceeds it in either wisdom or intelligence—accepting the limits of its time and place." It may well stand today, he adds, "as the most brilliant creation in the record of man."[6]

Any account of the Five Nations, if it is to help us understand their influence on the North America of their time— an influence out of all proportion to their numbers—must include the story of their founding.[7] It was this legend, based on history but em-

[4] *Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy Record (World War II)*, by Aren Akweks (Ray Fadden), St. Regis Reservation, Hogansburg, N. Y.

[5] *The History of the Five Indian Nations* (London, 1747), p. v.

[6] *The Indians of the Americas*, by John Collier (New York, 1947), p. 204.

[7] Several manuscript versions are in the Smithsonian Institution. A microfilm copy of the 1885 Newhouse version (not elsewhere available) is in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. The principal published versions are: "Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations," edited by Duncan Campbell Scott (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. 5, Section 2, 1911); "The Constitution of the Five Nations, or the Iroquois Book of the Great Law," edited by Arthur C. Parker (*New York State Museum Bulletin*, No. 184,

bellished with folklore, constituting one of the most beautiful and powerful productions of the human mind—which served them (and in a measure still serves them) as their Bible. It provided them not only with an interpretation of their past, but also with a vision of the future which gave direction and motive to their national policies.

Like the Christian Bible, it contains a rich blend of history, poetry, and constitutional law. It is full of wise sayings, put into the mouth of Deganawidah, their founder, who was not only a moral leader but a practical politician as well. Many of his sayings come close home to us today, remembering, as we do, the incidents of an exciting presidential campaign: "A chief," he said, "must have a skin five fingers thick, so that he will not feel the darts of his enemies"; and again, "If the chiefs at the council fire continually throw ashes at one another, the people will go astray."

The foundation legend introduces two great culture heroes, Deganawidah and Hiawatha, who, despite the imaginative build-up to which they have been treated by Indian chroniclers, are generally agreed to have historical dimensions. The gist of the story is this:

"A long time ago" (historical research permits us to be no more exact than to say probably in the early fifteenth century—that is to say, two generations before America discovered Columbus) the Great Spirit sent down to earth a "heavenly messenger," in whose face, we are told, shone "the beauty of all beauties."[8] It was his mission to teach the nations how to live at peace: not merely to draw out men's *desires* for peace (which, as we know, can be a trap for the unwary), but to show them how to build those desires into a practical organization capable of giving them reality. Benjamin Franklin is perhaps the best witness to this Iroquois law-giver's ultimate success. Franklin

---

Albany, 1916). See also *The White Roots of Peace*, by Paul A. W. Wallace (Philadelphia, 1946).

[8] See Seth Newhouse's 1885 version, microfilm, American Philosophical Society.

recommended the Iroquois Confederacy to the attention of our forefathers in these words:

> It would be a strange thing if Six Nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union, and be able to execute it in such a manner as that it has subsisted ages and appears indissoluble, and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interests.[9]

But to return to the founding fathers: Deganawidah, the Heavenly Messenger, was born among the Huron Indians north of Lake Ontario, near Belleville on the Bay of Quinte. On reaching manhood he crossed the lake to the country of the Onondagas, one of the five Iroquois nations strung out along the warriors' path which ran from the Hudson River to the Genesee. These nations—Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida, and Cayuga—were perpetually at war with one another. It was Deganawidah's mission to bring them the Good Message of Peace and Power: an organized peace with enough military power behind it to deter would-be aggressors. It was believed that, when these five nations had been organized, with a central council yet with no diminution of freedom, each nation preserving its sovereignty, their example would persuade other nations to join them.

His first convert was Hiawatha—who is not to be confused with Longfellow's hero. Longfellow took the name Hiawatha from the Iroquois legend, but transferred it to a cycle of myths attached to the Ojibway demigod, Manabozho, out Lake Superior way. The Indian story of the conversion of Hiawatha deserves a place in world literature. It puts into dramatic form a vision of humanity which contains our own best hope today: the belief that good, as well as evil, lies deep in the subconscious mind, and that the will to peace and decent living demands expression no less insistently than does the ape and tiger within us.

According to the old story, whose homely metaphors are

[9] Benjamin Franklin to James Parker, March 20, 1750/51: *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* edited by A. H Smyth (New York, 1907), Vol. III, pp. 40–45.

packed with significant symbolism, Hiawatha was a cannibal, who lived by killing and eating his fellow men. Deganawidah was warned, for his life, not to go near him; but that was what Deganawidah now proposed to do. He would make here the initial test of his own powers. When he first approached the cannibal's cabin, he found no one at home. Hiawatha was out hunting. While waiting for him Deganawidah climbed to the roof of the bark cabin, stretched himself out, and looked down through the smoke hole. Immediately below was a large kettle suspended over the fire.

Soon Hiawatha returned, successful, from the hunt. On his shoulders he bore the body of a man, which he proceeded to cut up and prepare for the kettle. Looking into the water, to see if it was yet boiling, he was surprised to see reflected there the face of a man looking up at him. Hiawatha glanced around, but there was no one beside him in the cabin. He looked again at the face in the water, a face in which strength and gentleness were so beautifully blended that he was struck with wonder and compunction.

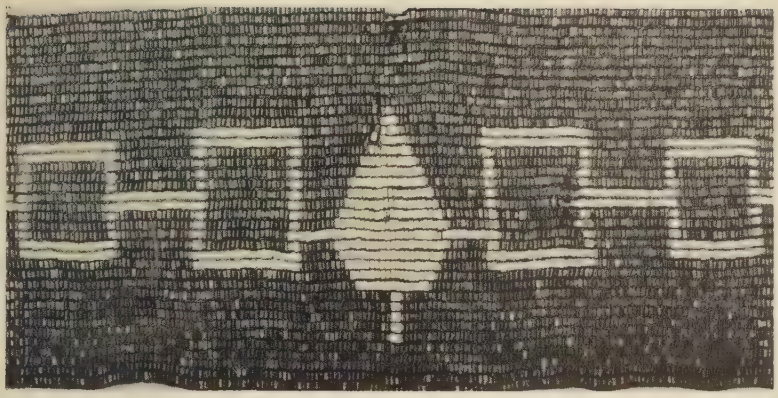
"Can it be my face?" he asked himself, contrasting the benignity he saw there with the brutality of his past actions.

He moved about the cabin uneasily and came back, gazing again into the steady eyes reflected from the water.

"It *is* my face," he said. "I *am* like that and not like a man who devours his fellows. I will henceforth be myself."

Having thus seen in Deganawidah's face the possibilities of human nature—and of his own nature—he took the kettle out of the cabin and emptied it. When he came back, he found Deganawidah waiting for him. The two men sat down across the fire from each other, and Hiawatha listened while Deganawidah gave him the Message of Peace and Power. When he had finished, Hiawatha offered himself as a disciple.

So began the long partnership of these two men, who worked together like Moses and Aaron. They made a perfect team, each possessing something the other lacked. Deganawidah was a great



THE HIAWATHA BELT

"This is the original record of the founding of the Iroquois League and is the most sacred of all Iroquois belts. . . . The five figures represent the Five Nations. The white tree at center is the Capital of the League, Onondaga, and symbolizes the Tree of Peace or the Constitution of the Five Nations."—Aren Akweks (Ray Fadden), *Wampum Belts* (St. Regis Mohawk Reservation, Hogansburg, N. Y., 1947), p. 11.

Courtesy of the New York State Museum, Albany, N. Y.

lawmaker and political reformer, but he had an impediment in his speech, as is suggested by his name, which means "Double Row of Teeth."[10] Hiawatha, on the other hand, was a graceful and powerful speaker. Together they set out to win the Five Iroquois peoples to accept the longhouse, with its several families living together under one roof, as the model of a great international organization designed to abolish war.

Deganawidah's legal skill in adapting local customs to the needs of an international society, together with Hiawatha's poetical gift in wording his partner's concepts, aided by an occasional miracle like the eclipse of the sun which came just in time to warn hesitant Senecas that Deganawidah's words of peace had power behind them,—these brought the Mohawks and Senecas,

[10] This interpretation of the name was given to me by the late Chief William Dewaserage Loft, who held the title of Sharenkowane (Spreading Tree Top) in the Great Council of the Six Nations on the Grand River Reserve, Ontario.

the Oneidas and Cayugas, to accept the Good Message of Peace and Power. There remained only the Onondagas, but they posed a problem—one with a modern parallel. Their people were willing to join, but they were ruled by a dictator, the hideous Atotarho, whose twisted body was surmounted by a huge head covered with snakes instead of hair.[11] It was to be the task of Hiawatha, whose name means "He Who Combs," to comb the snakes out of Atotarho's hair.

To this end Deganawidah and Hiawatha constructed a weapon not unlike that being fashioned by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Gathering the warriors of the Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, and Cayugas on the shore of Onondaga Lake, where Atotarho lived in a cave, they confronted him with a power sufficient to make peace seem, even to the tyrant, a better alternative than war. Atotarho, thus enlightened, came in. To satisfy his ego, Deganawidah conferred on him the title of Head Chief of the Five Nations, but surrounded his office with checks and balances sufficient to keep him in line. Atotarho's subchiefs were made the Fire Keepers or steering committee of the great Onondaga Council which was to debate and administer the affairs of the new confederacy.

This done, Deganawidah planted on the shore of Onondaga Lake the Great White Pine, the Tree of Peace, which symbolized the protective functions of the League. On the summit of the Tree he set an eagle, called the Eagle that Sees Afar,[12] whose duty it was to watch the horizon and scream a warning when danger approached. The eagle symbolized what we today call "preparedness." Then—but not until after security had been achieved—he gathered the weapons of war and threw them into a cavern under the earth.

The laws he issued, beginning, "I am Deganawidah," form the Iroquois Constitution, which is not forgotten by his people even

[11] Illustrated at the head of this article from the drawing by Geiszel in Paul A. W. Wallace, *The White Roots of Peace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946), p. 9.

[12] Illustrated at the head of this article from *The White Roots of Peace*, p. 1.

to this day. A study of those laws will provide the key to many things that have seemed mysterious in Iroquois history.

Deganawidah was no sentimentalist. He knew that his people, no matter how high their purpose, must expect opposition. "I now send you out," he said to his warriors, "amongst hostile nations, and you shall show them this Constitution and proclaim to them the unchallengeable laws of peace."

So you see the Five Nations, like our own Thirteen Colonies, entered nationhood with a sense of mission. The occasional atrocities committed by their warriors under the stress of war, and the suspicions and resentments which the Confederacy by its very success drew upon itself (not unlike those *we* are experiencing as we assume the world-wide responsibilities which men of peace who have power cannot escape shouldering), must not be allowed to obliterate our sense of the great good they achieved in bringing stability, not unlike the *pax romana*, to an area as large as Western Europe. Benjamin Franklin, as we have seen, held up the Iroquois Confederacy as a model for the English Colonies. It was in the minds of those who framed our Constitution. And, even if the Five Nations constitution did not figure in the deliberations of those who prepared the framework of the United Nations eight years ago in San Francisco, the similarity of the two constitutions shows that the framers of both had the same vision of "the unchallengeable laws of peace."

These were the people, inheritors of the tradition of Deganawidah and Hiawatha, who once held title to the lands now comprising the States of New York and Pennsylvania. They were a superior folk, the Iroquois, not in blood—their practice of adopting prisoners of war and so assimilating the peoples around them precluded any possible distinction of that sort—but in political wisdom. Their religion of a Messiah who had translated his ethical concepts into political realities; the close mingling, during the deliberations of the Great Council at Onondaga, of peoples as different in speech and outlook as the Mohawks who kept the eastern door of the Longhouse and the Senecas who kept the

western door,—had taught them to keep their eyes on the horizon. They were well informed in international affairs. The good trails which fanned out in all directions from their home territory in the Mohawk Valley and along the Finger Lakes—trails that ran north into Canada, west to the country of the Miamis, south to the Tuscarora, Catawba, and Cherokee country, east to the great sea—encouraged communication and the exchange of ideas. Their runners, their ambassadors, went everywhere—and, if necessary, their war parties, for they, too, had their Koreas. By means of these communications and the careful sifting of news by their chiefs in council, they were able to maintain a continental vision.

When the Five Nations felt their existence threatened by the large populations surrounding them—the Hurons, Mahicans, Susquehannocks, and others, who came in time to be united under the leadership of the French—they took the only course that seemed possible to save themselves. First, as their Constitution prescribed, they invited their neighbors to join them under the Tree of Peace. The *Jesuit Relations* bear witness that more than once they approached the Hurons and the French with this proposal. That failing, they turned to the last recourse prescribed by Deganawidah: war against recalcitrant peoples to *make* them sit under the Tree. The French in Canada, with a great navy behind them and bases across the sea, they found to be inexpugnable; but France's Indian allies, one by one, they defeated and destroyed as national entities. That does not mean that they massacred their populations. On the contrary, they followed the policy of incorporating the defeated, using them, in their own words, as "props" to the Longhouse. Many of the Hurons, for instance, came down from the shores of the Georgian Bay to establish comfortable villages in the Seneca country. Some of the Susquehannocks are said to have been received in the Oneida country.

It was the defeat of these last, the Susquehannocks, in 1675 which not only ended the long war of Iroquois expansion but

also confronted the victors with their most taxing post-war problem. After the dispersion of the Susquehannocks, the great Susquehanna Valley, which, with its two branches, North and West, drained almost all the southern marches of the Iroquois Confederacy, lay silent and empty. The Susquehannock nation had disintegrated. Its fortresses had been burned. Its fields lay uncultivated.

In their success, the Five Nations knew there lay a danger. In the language of power politics (which the Five Nations understood rather better than we seem to do) a vacuum had been created on their southern borders, and power, as we have learned in Korea, abhors a vacuum. The history of the Susquehanna Valley for the next hundred years is the story of the Five Nations' attempt to fill that vacuum with honor and safety.

They did not throw out colonies of their own people to fill it. Their population (never more than twelve or fifteen thousand men, women, and children) was too small to admit colonization on any large scale. What colonies they did throw out, occupied the Ohio-Allegheny basin. The Susquehanna Valley had to be filled another way.

The method they adopted is one which we in the United States, during the aftermath of the Second World War, can appreciate better than at any previous time in our history. They settled the valley with displaced persons.

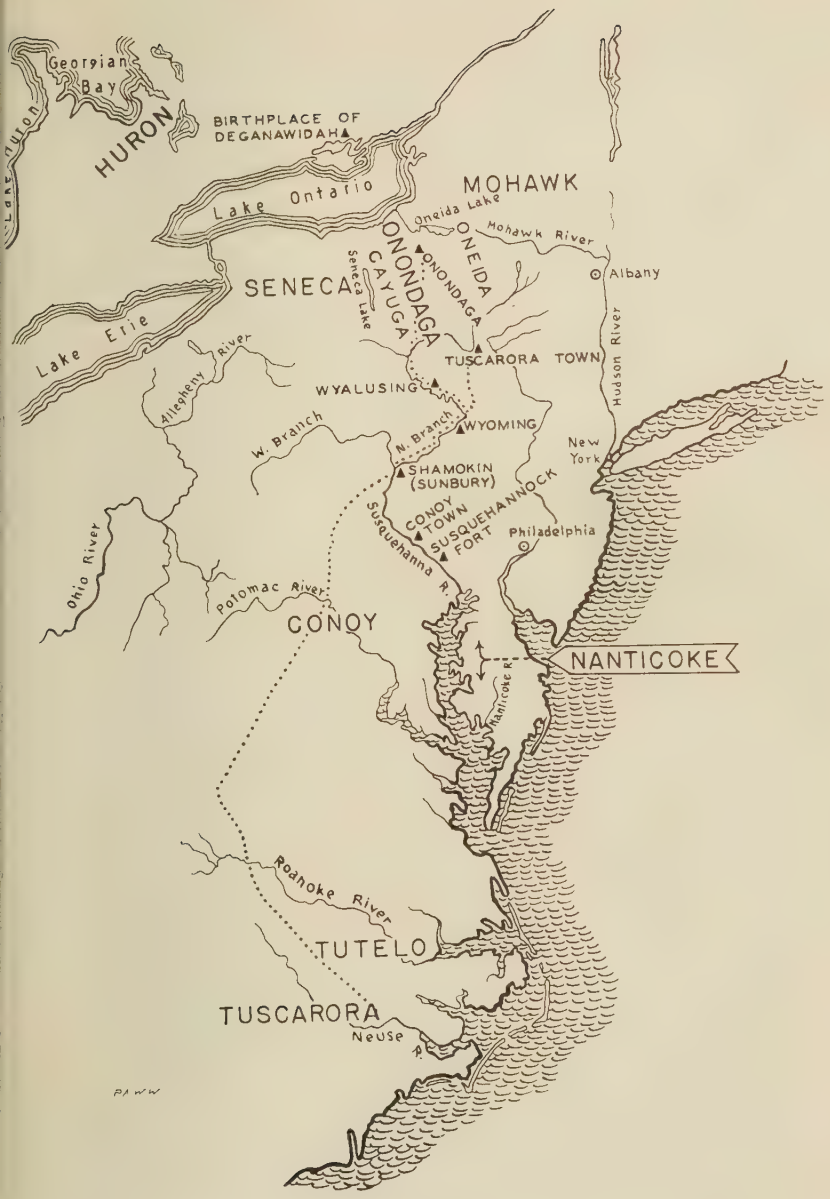
The term "displaced persons" was not in use among our forefathers in America, but the problem denoted by the phrase was at their doors. They themselves, many of them, had suffered displacement in Europe; and everywhere along the frontier the Indians, "the people who came out of this ground," were being uprooted. The pressure of incoming white men, exerted sometimes through wily "pen and ink work," as the Indians expressed it, in treaties and land purchases, and sometimes by the cruder but franker methods of powder and lead, forced communities, often whole nations, of Indians to leave their ancestral lands and seek refuge where they could find it. The white man would not have

them. He accepted no responsibility for their resettlement. So it was that the Shawnees, Tuscaroras, Mahicans, Nanticokes, Tuteloes, and Delawares turned to the only power in America that had the will to receive and the power to protect them, the Iroquois Confederacy. The Chiefs of the Fire that Never Dies, the Onondaga Council, offered these homeless people shelter under the Tree of Peace.

It was not a gesture of mere blind altruism on the part of the Five Nations. There was enlightened self-interest as well in offering the exiles domicile in the Susquehanna Valley. A population of grateful refugees, defeated but not broken, would offer the best possible protection to the Five Nations' southern flank. To have loyal allies at Paxtang (where Harrisburg now stands), at the Forks of the Susquehanna (Sunbury), in the Wyoming Valley (near the site of modern Wilkes-Barre), at Wyalusing, Tioga, Owego, Chenango (near Binghamton), and the Big Bend, —would be the best guarantee that "the southern door of the Confederacy" should remain tight shut against the white men who were already knocking at it.

So we find that the Conoy Indians, an Algonquian people closely related to the Nanticokes, when they were harried out of their homes along the Potomac, received permission from the Five Nations to occupy sites and cultivate cornfields which had been abandoned by the Susquehannocks. We find the Conoy settling, as the years passed, at different places along the Susquehanna, moving always northward, closer to the Iroquois, who alone among Indian nations in the east seemed to have the power and the genius to preserve the Indian way of life.

The story of the Tuscaroras is much the same. After suffering a crushing defeat in 1712 at Fort Narhantes in North Carolina, this proud people of Iroquoian linguistic stock, with whom the Five Nations for a long time past had maintained friendly and even intimate relations, began the migration, which took them several generations to complete, over the mountains into the Shenandoah Valley, across the Potomac, and up through Pennsylvania by what came to be known as the Tuscarora Path.



COUNTRY OF THE FIVE NATIONS AND OF THE REFUGEE PEOPLES WHO BECAME "PROPS TO THE LONGHOUSE"

The dotted line represents the probable course of the Tuscarora Path

As late as 1766 we find a large body of these people traveling up the North Branch of the Susquehanna, where the Moravians in their mission village of Friedenshütten at Wyalusing had a chance to observe them. John Jacob Schmick, writing from Friedenshütten to Bethlehem, notes how the Six Nations made the path smooth for these homeless people:

> On the 18th [November, 1766] two chiefs, Newollike and Aehkolunty, came down with others from Schechschequanik in 5 canoes. They brought a message from the Six Nations for our Indian Brethren to this effect: The Six Nations have received news by a Tuscarora messenger that a number of their people are on their way, but they do not know how they are to make out and provide for themselves. The Six Nations, therefore, request the Indians everywhere along the Susquehanna to receive these poor Indians, send canoes from place to place for them, and provide them with corn, so that they may get along all right. Our Indians, accordingly, as soon as they hear of their arrival at Lechawachneck [Pittston] will send 10 canoes for them . . .[13]

The Tuscaroras as a people have long since disappeared from Pennsylvania, but reminders of them are to be found in the name "Path Valley" and the name of many a creek and mountain where they passed. They were adopted by the Five Nations, which became known thereafter as the Six Nations. They have finally come to rest in the Seneca country, at Lewiston, near the mouth of the Niagara Gorge, where you may now see six hundred of them on the Tuscarora Reservation.

When the Tuteloes, a small eastern remnant of Siouxan stock, received asylum among the Six Nations—"in the bosom," to be exact, "of the Cayugas"—they were promised the free exercise of their religion. To this day, on the Six Nations reserve at Brantford, though there are no longer any Tutelo-speaking people there, the Cayugas themselves present, at the appropriate season each year, the beautiful old Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony.[14] It serves as a monument, if it does nothing more, to good faith in international commitments.

[13] The Bethlehem Diary, Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa.

[14] *The Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, by Frank G. Speck (Harrisburg, 1942).

The Nanticokes[15] took the path to the Six Nations some thirty years after the Tuscaroras first set out. Threatened with extinction on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, these people sent an embassy to Onondaga to lay their case before the Great Council. Like the others, they were offered shelter under the Tree of Peace. Moving up the Susquehanna, we find them by 1748 settled in a body at the river town near Wilkes-Barre which still bears their name, Nanticoke. By that time the Six Nations, recognizing the necessity, if the Susquehanna Valley was to be held for the Indians, of making a firm stand in the Wyoming Valley, let it be known through Conrad Weiser that, should white men attempt to settle these lands, there would certainly be bloodshed.

After the Nanticokes had been there five years, they were invited to come farther north to the vicinity of what is now Binghamton, where they could more closely guard the Confederacy's southern door, the immediate approaches to which were now being seriously threatened.

As the Nanticokes prepared to leave, there loomed the danger again of a power vacuum. Emissaries, accordingly, were sent to the Delawares and Mahicans at the nearby Moravian mission village of Gnadenhütten on the Lehigh River, inviting them in the name of the Six Nations to take the place of the Nanticokes in the Wyoming Valley.[16] Nothing was said, at least nothing was recorded at the time, of the political implications of the invitation—of the need, that is, of underpinning the Indian world by means of a strong outpost at Wyoming. But the Delaware, Teedyuscung,[17] who heard the message and who had what Conrad Weiser called "a good mind," must have understood very well what was involved. He was in for a tussle with himself. He admired the white man's civilization. Under Moravian guidance, he had accepted the white man's religion. At the same

[15] See *The Nanticoke Indians*, by C. A. Weslager (Harrisburg, 1948).

[16] See "Bruder Josephs Nachricht von dem Besuch der Nantikoks u. Shawanos in Bethlehem im Mart. 1753": Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa.

[17] See *King of the Delawares, Teedyuscung*, by Anthony F. C. Wallace (Philadelphia, 1949).

time he had the pride of an Indian. He did not wish to see his people, in adapting themselves to the new ways, altogether lose their identity. He listened to the call of the blood, left his Moravian brethren, and for ten years thereafter, as "King of the Delawares," was the chief guardian of the Wyoming Valley. "This land," he said, "is my inheritance."[18]

He was not alone in his watch. With him from Gnadenhütten he took Abraham and some other Christian Indians. There were already, when he arrived on the Susquehanna, some Shawnees, Mahicans, and Iroquois there. More particularly, there were Muncy Delawares who had been dispossessed by the Walking Purchase. Teedyuscung's leadership gave these people cohesion and a new self-respect. With their aid he resisted every kind of pressure, including bribery and threats of violence, and he kept the valley inviolate for his people.

The cards, however, were stacked against him. The same Albany Conference that produced Benjamin Franklin's scheme of union, produced also the so-called Wyoming Purchase. We need not enter into a discussion of that piece of "pen and ink work" beyond noting that the original "sale" had no validity in Indian law. White men, nevertheless, accepted it and prepared to move in. For a time Teedyuscung was so embittered that he lost his head and, during the French and Indian War, said and did things contrary to the interest not only of the English Colonies but of the Six Nations as well. For that, the Six Nations brought him to heel at the Easton treaty of 1758. Regarding him, however, as still a good man when he was not on his high horse, which he seemed no longer likely to mount, they maintained him as leader of the forlorn hope in the Wyoming Valley. For the few years that remained to him, he discharged his function loyally and well.

The end came in 1763 when he was burned to death in his cabin. His son, who believed (on what we must admit was strong evidence) that white men had murdered him in the interests of

[18] *Ibid.*, Chapter X.

real estate promotion, organized and led the first Massacre of Wyoming. When John, Teedyuscung's son, with his warriors had passed by, no white man was left alive in the valley.

The remainder of the Wyoming story is not unlike a classical tragedy: the end is inevitable yet unforeseen; it provokes pity as well as terror. At the Battle of Wyoming in 1778, the Indians, mostly Senecas, gave no quarter. They did not, as popularly believed, massacre the inhabitants in Forty Fort when it surrendered, but they did spread through the valley, warning all settlers to leave. This was once more Indian country. But not for long.

Reprisals beget reprisals. Next year General Sullivan, advancing up the Susquehanna Valley, pounded at the southern door of the Confederacy and broke it open. He moved in by the Forbidden Path—so-called because for many years its use had been denied to white men. His armies gutted the Longhouse. They destroyed the best cornfields in America, burned Indian towns, and defeated the Six Nations in drawn battle. The Iroquois were not crushed, but their power in the Susquehanna Valley was gone forever.

Yet their descendants return—not for battle, not to glory in the memory of ancient victories, certainly not to commiserate with one another about the loss of lands their forefathers once held. They come for pride in what they accomplished here during the years in which they gave shelter and hope, under their Tree of Peace, to America's dispossessed peoples—for pride, too, in what they aspired to but could not do here. "In great attempts," wrote Longinus, "it is glorious even to fail."

Not long ago I took two car-loads of Mohawks—Ray Fadden, Philip Cook, and their families—over the Tulpehocken Path (which can be followed most of the way on black-top) to the Forks of the Susquehanna at Sunbury, where Shickellamy used to have his headquarters. As we crossed the ranges of the "Endless Mountains," they sang Mohawk songs in their own tongue. Perhaps not for two centuries has the Mahantango Valley, which we crossed, heard such music.

> O listen! for the vale profound
> Is overflowing with the sound.

It evoked all the magic of

> . . . old, unhappy, far-off things
> And battles long ago.

When they came to the site of Fort Augusta (which had been built during the French and Indian War at the request of our good allies, the Six Nations), and saw the highway markers placed there in honor of Shickellamy, the vice-regent whom the Onondaga Council had sent down to keep an eye on the Indians of Pennsylvania, there came to mind the words of the Iroquois national hymn, which is not a song of triumph such as we might have expected from a military people, but a lament for the waning influence of Deganawidah's instrument for peace:

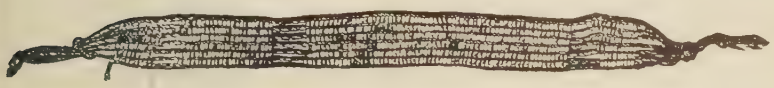
> Hail, my grandsires! Now hearken while your grandchildren cry mournfully to you—because the Great League which you established has grown old. . . .
>
> O my grandsires! Even now that has become old which you established—the Great League. You have it as a pillow under your heads in the ground where you are lying—this Great League which you established; although you said that far away in the future the Great League would endure.[19]

The Six Nations do still endure as a people. And they are now, as they have been throughout our history (except for those few divided years of the Revolutionary War) our very good friends, as their record in two World Wars has disclosed. Their history is still being written, not only on our battlefields, but also in our workshops, at our drafting tables, in our schools and colleges, and in our national councils. It is a continuing history, integrated with ours, but with a meaning and pride of its own. If we study their history, as they study ours, pursuing it into "the deep backward and abysm of time," we shall find that we have added a rich new chapter to the history of the land we all love.

[19] "Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations," edited by Duncan Campbell Scott: *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. 5, Section 2, 1911, p. 239.

RENEWALS OF GOVERNOR NICOLLS' TREATY OF 1665

WITH THE ESOPUS INDIANS AT KINGSTON, N.Y.



by KENNETH SCOTT* *and* CHARLES E. BAKER

SHORTLY AFTER the organization of municipal government on Manhattan, Director-General Stuyvesant persuaded the sixty or seventy scattered farmers and traders who had settled on lands belonging to the Esopus Indians to found a village for their mutual protection. Having responded in person, May 30, 1658, to the settlers' frantic appeal for soldiers to shield them from the warlike consequences of their own abuse of the natives, he selected a site for their village, supervised the erection of a stockade around it, called the Indian sachems into conference, and cowed them into granting peace and land sufficient for the settlement. So was founded in 1658 the village of Esopus, renamed by the English, September 25, 1669, Kingston.[1]

* Professor Scott, head of the Department of Modern Languages at Wagner College on Staten Island, is a previous contributor to this *Quarterly* and to other historical journals. The discovery and exposition of the proceedings of the conference of 1745 between the Esopus sachems and the Justices of Ulster County are entirely his. This discovery was made during Dr. Scott's perusal of the manuscript records of the Sessions Courts of all the Colonial counties in search of material for his book: *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, which is at this moment being published by the American Numismatic Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York City. From those researches it appears that the Ulster County Court of Sessions was the only Colonial court ever to negotiate treaty matters with American Indians; in that respect, as in some others, the history related below seems to be unique.

[1] E. M. Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River* (Albany: 1872), 125–128; *Olde Ulster: An Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (Kingston, N.Y.), III (1907): 359–360, where the oldest document in the Office of the Clerk of Ulster County, being an agreement among the settlers of Esopus to "demolish" their "Separate dwellings and to congregate in the spot designated by the Lord General" and to fortify the village for their mutual defense, signed May 31, 1658, is quoted in full; Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York: Administration of Francis Lovelace 1668–1673* (Albany:

In October 1658 Stuyvesant again visited Esopus to extort from the Indians, among other harsh conditions for continued peace, a free surrender of all the Esopus lands so far as the Dutch had explored, but he succeeded mainly in angering them. A year later the massacre by some villagers of a party of drunken natives in their sleep brought on open warfare; the village was besieged and Stuyvesant once more hurried to the rescue. The following spring he pressed a vigorous offensive against the Esopus tribes "and all their adherents," sent troops to depredate the heart of their country, and finally forced upon them their first formal treaty of peace with the whites, "done and concluded near the concentration of Esopus, under the blue sky of heaven, in the presence of . . . all the inhabitants of Esopus, both Christians and Indians, on the 15th of July, 1660."[2] But this peace, pledged to "last as long as the sun and the moon gave light," continued for only three years—years of growth for the new village and of increased encroachment upon the red man's inheritance. A new war, carrying horrible desolation throughout the Esopus homelands, aimed at nothing less than their extermination. Only the impending crisis with the English induced Stuyvesant to invite the Esopus sachems and their friends to meet him in council in Fort Amsterdam, and there on May 16, 1664, he imposed upon them a treaty providing stringent safeguards for trade and inter-

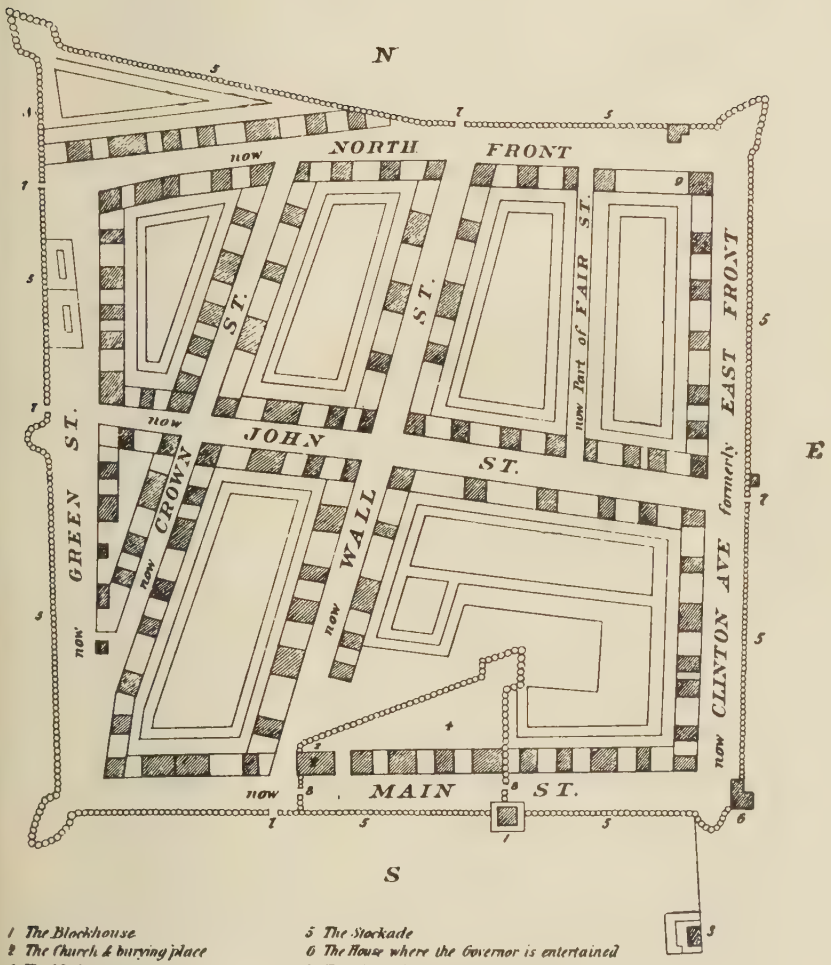
1910), 1:275. As early as November 1655 Stuyvesant had urged "that the outlying farmers shall be compelled to draw together" into fortified villages for defense against the Indians, and on January 18, 1656, passed an Ordinance that they do so "by next Spring" or suffer the consequences without aid from him, those failing to comply to be fined 25 guilders annually. He renewed "the Ordinances for the formation of Villages" on July 1st without effect. On September 15, 1657, the Directors of the Dutch West India Company recommended that "a redoubt at *Esopus* for the defense and protection of our inhabitants" be built—but still no action resulted.—*Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland 1638–1674* (Albany: 1868), 207, 234–235; *Docs. Rel. Col. Hist., N.Y.*, XIII: 53, 73. For the settlers appeals for assistance in 1658 and Stuyvesant's own journal of his expedition to Esopus and the laying out and fortification of the village, see *Docs.* XIII: 77–87. For the organization of municipal government on Manhattan, see Philip L. White's article on that subject in the April 1953 *NYHS Quarterly*, 146–157.

[2] Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, 129–131, 133–144. The full text of the "treaty under the blue sky" is reproduced in *Olde Ulster*, V (1909), 264–268; also in *Docs. Rel. Col. Hist., N.Y.*, XIII: 179–181. For original accounts of the events leading up to the Esopus war of 1659–60, of its prosecution, and of the negotiations for peace, see *ibid.*, 88–179, *passim*.

PLAN OF

KINGSTON

IN 1695.



1 The Blockhouse
2 The Church & burying place
3 The Ministers House
4 The part separated & fortified
5 The Stockade
6 The House where the Governor is entertained
7.7 The Town Gates
8.8 The Gates to the separate fortified part
9 The House where the first Senate of the State of New York sat in 1777.

ADAPTED FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWN BY REV. JOHN MILLER

Chaplain (1692–1695) to Governor Fletcher and the New York troops

Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, XIII, 84

course and depriving them, besides the lands previously granted, of "all now conquered by the sword."[3]

Richard Nicolls, the new English governor, initiated a more enlightened policy toward the natives. The Duke's Laws, among other safeguards to Indian rights, provided that henceforth Indian lands could be legally taken only by purchase, and then only with the prior consent of the Governor and subsequent confirmation in his presence by "the sachem or right owner" that "satisfaction and payment" had been made.[4] In this spirit Nicolls negotiated a new treaty with "the Sachems and People called the Sopes Indians," providing among other things for peaceful trade on equitable terms, for the just settlement of future grievances on either side, and for the sale, in return for immediate "payment . . . in full satisfaction for the premises," of the lands then in dispute; moreover, the boundaries of the lands thus sold were described in the treaty in precise and unambiguous terms. "Two several writings" of the treaty were signed, "the one to remain in the hands of the Sopes Sachems, the other upon record, this 7th day of October, 1665." The Indians then presented a formal belt of wampum in token of their amity. This belt, said to be the one which still hangs over the desk of the Clerk of Ulster County, is illustrated at the head of this article.[5]

By the sixth article of the treaty "the said Sachems doth engage to come once every year, and bring some of their young People, to Acknowledge every part of this agreement in the Sopes, to the end that it may be kept in perpetual memory." Whether this

[3] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, II:368, 468; XIII: 242–377; "Journal of the Esopus War, 1663" in *Documentary History of the State of New York*, III: 33–62; *Olde Ulster*, II (1906), 34–39; Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, 129–157.

[4] *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany: 1894–96), I:40, reënacted October 23, 1684, in "A Bill Concerning Purchasing of Lands from the Indians," *ibid.*, I:149.

[5] *Collections of the Ulster Historical Society*, I (1860), 59–65, where the text of the treaty is reproduced in full, with the renewals through 1681; *Olde Ulster*, II (1906), 37 (from which the illustration at the head of this article is taken), 71; VI (1910), 84. Both the treaty and the belt of wampum have recently been on temporary exhibition at the Senate House Museum in Kingston. The original treaty document retained by Nicolls is on twelve pages, 13 x 8 inches, locked in the famous wooden chest in vault 1 in the office of the Clerk of Ulster County.

provision was invariably fulfilled every year thereafter is not known, but evidence is ample that the Indians adhered to it with reasonable faithfulness throughout Colonial times—that this treaty stood longer and with fewer infractions over the years than most Indian treaties were wont to do. The first known renewal of the treaty is recorded in a memorandum to the Provincial Executive Council dated September 23, 1668:

> That this day three of the Esopus Sachems who had sould the great Tract of land there to Gov^rnor Nicolls accompanyed w^th divers oth^r Indians came to the Governo^r [then at Esopus] & brought the Counterparte of the deed of Purchase [the treaty of 1665] desiring to Continue Freindship w^ch was then Ratifyed.[6]

A year later—September 11, 1669—Governor Francis Lovelace commissioned Ralph Whitfield, John Manning, Thomas Chambers, William Beekman, Christopher Beresford, and Henry Pawling as a temporary court to settle "y^e Affairs at Esopus," with instructions to renew the treaty, to redress any breaches of it, to "regulate the Abuses of the Indians . . . & make enquiry who transgresses in giving them more Drink . . . than is fitting or allowed off," to prohibit potential trouble-makers from going among them, and to appoint a permanent resident officer for local Indian affairs. All this the commissioners did, except that of the Indians who appeared to ratify the treaty none had been original signers, as was required; indeed, two of the sachems who had negotiated the treaty and one of the witnesses to it had died. Accordingly, in voting Henry Pawling "to be y^e Officer to whom y^e Indyans should repaire for Redress of Injuryes," the commissioners, upon closing their business, left it to him to supervise the treaty renewal, with a caution "not to make your own Interpreta^cons, but to follow precisely the Letter of those Articles . . . and send Acco^t thereof to his Hono^r y^e Governour. . . ."[7] Within the month Pawling was able to report to Lovelace:

> The Sachems being sent for, a few days after appeared . . . two of those Sachems that sould the Land to y^e late Governou^r Nicolls, who owned their marks with y^e whole agreem^t; An Indyan who came with them sett

[6] Paltsits, ed., *Min. Exec. Coun. N.Y., 1668–1673*, I:244.
[7] *Ibid.*, I:255–258, 262, 266–282.

his hand to the paper, & they were then obliged to bring two young Men to witness what they own, and . . . to bring y^e^ Successo^rs^ of those deceased to M^r^ Pawling . . .[8]

Apparently the Indians were dilatory in meeting this obligation, perhaps because one of the vacated chieftancies had not yet been, nor (as it turned out) would for some years be, filled. Since the treaty terms required annual ratification by *all* of the original sachems, or their successors, and witness thereto by some of the young men of the tribe, so that future friction from possible misunderstanding or forgetfulness of what had been agreed to would be improbable, Lovelace grew concerned over the delay. When six months had passed without further action, he wrote to William Beekman, Christopher Beresford, and Henry Pawling, at Kingston, saying, "I expect to heare from you by y^e^ next, how affaires stand w^th^ you in Relacon to y^e^ Indians about y^e^ Peace."[9] Their answer appeared in the following memorandum of a new special court which Lovelace had commissioned for Kingston of which they were members:

> . . . that there appeared the last day of o^r^ sitting [April 11, 1670] (in Obediance to our Summance) before us one Calcop an Indyan Sachem, with his young Son and another young Indyan who have sett their hands to the Agreem^t^ made between Richard Nicolls the late Governour, & the Sachems & people called the Sopez Indyans, and doe own the same according to Right and Honesty. They were likewise admonished to continue the same Custome yearly.[10]

Up to this time the judicial affairs of Kingston, including differences between settlers and Indians, had been handled, as we have seen, by special courts commissioned for the occasion. Thus, when the special commissioners of September 1669 had received a complaint "by an Indian that Tijerk Claes [DeWitt] had employed & not paid him, the Court made him make satisfaction, and ffyned Tork Claes." This, interestingly enough, was the same man, founder of the DeWitt family in America, whose name appears a decade later among the signers of the Esopus

[8] *Ibid.*, I:278.

[9] *Ibid.*, I:283.

[10] *Ibid.*, I:304. In the signed notation of this renewal upon the extant treaty parchment Calcop is called "a New Made Sachem of ye Sopes Indyans."

treaty renewals of 1679, 1680, and 1681.[11] But DeWitt's participation in those negotiations was not occasioned by a special commission, but by his being a member of the newly and regularly established Court of Sessions, with jurisdiction extending to Esopus treaty matters, which Governor Lovelace had provided for in his ordinance of October 25, 1671, as follows:

> That there shall bee a Co^rt of Sessions held [by the local magistrates] each halfe yeare at Kingston, which shall determine all Actions whither Criminall or other (not extending to Death) & inflict punishm^t according to the Merritt of y^e ffact, wither on Christians or Indyans . . .[12]

Henceforth this court and its successors exercised jurisdiction of matters arising under the treaty of 1665. The Duke's Laws, which Lovelace had only just placed "in force in all parts of this Government," including the Esopus country, had given to the Courts of Sessions of the respective ridings broad jurisdiction of Indian affairs within those ridings.[13] That the new Court of Sessions at Kingston exercised that jurisdiction with respect to the Esopus treaty renewals is proved by the signatures of the Justices to the subsequent notations on the extant treaty parchment of the renewals of: (1) January 24, 1672, (2) February 5, 1675, (3) January 22, 1676, (4) February 23, 1677, (5) February 1678, (6) February 11, 1679, (7) January 19, 1680, and (8) February 23, 1681. Their minutes of the conference of 1676 have been preserved and follow in full:[14]

[11] *Ibid.*, I:266, 275; Thomas G. Evans, *The DeWitt Family of Ulster County, New York* (New York: 1886), 4; *Coll. Ulster Hist. Soc.*, I (1860), 64–65. See also note 14 below and the text to which it pertains.

[12] Paltsits, *op. cit.*, II: 529.

[13] Hamlin and Baker, *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1704* (New-York Historical Society, 1952), I:5, citing Pennypacker, *The Dukes Laws*, 39, 54; *N.Y. Col. Laws*, I:40–42.

[14] *Coll. Ulster Hist. Soc.*, I (1860), 62–65; *Olde Ulster*, VI (1910), 85, 114–115. The year dates of the renewals as given above differ in four instances from those on the extant treaty parchment as printed in the first source here cited. By the Old Style calendar then officially in use, the new year began on March 25th, so that, for instance, in the date January 24, 1672, by our reckoning, the year was then usually written either 1671 or 1671/2, rarely 1672, though that too sometimes occurred. Care must therefore be exercised in determining the year of Colonial documents dated between January 1st and March 25th until after the New Style calendar was adopted in 1752. Thus, renewal (1) above, dated January 24, 1671 in the original, must have been made in 1672 by our reckoning because the Court of Sessions which ratified it had not been established till October 1671. Renewal (2), dated 1674 in the original,

This 22 January, 1676, Kingston.

Present.—Capt. Thoomas Chambers, Sheriff Hall, Constable Jan Hendric, Eduward Wittaker, Wessel Ten Broecq, Dirck Jansen.

PROPOSTION TO THE ESOPUS SAVAGES

1.—That conforming to an order of the Heer governor we have sent for the sachems, for the purpose of renewing the peace made with Heer governor Nichols, and now ratified by the Heer governor Edmond Andros that we thought they were ready to come of their own accord as per the agreement.

Reply through the sworn interpreter George Davits that they could not come earlier, but they feel sorry that they did not come before.

Sewakunamie
Senerakan
Panurewack
} Sachems of the Esopus.

2.—They are asked whether they intend to observe the same, because the treaty has been ratified by our Heer governor?

Answer that they intend to observe the same, and it is in their heart like honey.

3.—Why they did not take some of their young men along for the purpose of becoming acquainted with it and to keep it in memory so that every [treaty] entered into between us shall never be broken.

Answer when they return home they will make their young men acquainted with the same.

4.—In case any strange savages should arrive among them to inform us about it.

Answer that they are quite willing to do so.

Neither the judicature acts of 1683, 1691, and 1692, which specified that the Ulster County Court of Sessions should sit in March and September of each year, nor the later gubernatorial

---

could not have been made on "the order of the Noble Lord Governor Edmond Andross," as the notation on the treaty says, in February of that year (by our reckoning) because the Province was then still in Dutch hands, which undoubtedly accounts for the absence of renewal notations for 1673 and 1674. Renewal (4) above is dated in the original 1677/8, which we believe to be in error for 1677, by our calendar, for the preceding renewal is dated 1676 and the following one is dated like (4) 1677/8, and there would not have been two renewals in the same month of the same year. (However, if we are right in this interpretation, the Indians must then or shortly after have made some reservation concerning the extent of the treaty grant, for Governor Andros met with the sachems at Kingston on April 27, 1677, to satisfy their complaint "that they did not think they had sold land so far North." See note 34 below.) The same reasoning applies to renewal (7), dated "Jan. 19th, 1681" in the original, which we believe to be in error for 1680, for the next following renewal is dated "this 23d Feb, 1681." The latter, of course, might possibly refer to the year 1682.

ordinances (beginning with Bellomont's of 1699) which continued the judicial system of the Province, explicitly referred to Indians, but none of those measures disturbed the former jurisdiction over issues between whites and natives which the Duke's Laws had vested in the Courts of Sessions.[15] So it is not surprising to find recorded that the minute-book of the Ulster County courts, March 6, 1711/12–September 7, 1720, "includes minutes of meetings of the justices with the Esopus Indians."[16] The first of the meetings therein minuted, June 2, 1712, was for the purpose of renewing the treaty and, since the record mentions no preceding negligence of ratification (as it surely would have done had the Indians been in default during the thirty years following the last of the renewals [1681] entered on the treaty parchment itself), presumably they had come to Kingston at yearly intervals for that purpose more or less regularly ever since. The minutes of the renewal of 1712, here printed for the first time, read in part as follows:

Ulster: Ss: Att a Meeting of Justices of the peace ffor said County assigned & of the Chiefe Sachimes of the Esopus Indians in Said County this 2^{d} day of June 1712 In order to Renew the peace made with Said Indians by Coll^{o} Nicolls ffirst English Governor of the province, of New Yorke according to Articles of the Same . . .

The said Sachimes produced to the Justices the said articles of peace, In writing delivered to them in Coll^{o} Nicols time and presented a String of Wampum in Acknowledgement of Renewing said peace & Say they hope it May Continue

The Justices perused the said Articles off peace & told the Sachimes they were glad to [see?] them full fill the same in Renewing said peace & hoped that the Indians might give no Occasion of breaking the same

The Sachems further Say we are all brethren and what befalls one shall befall the other & promised to give notice of & Assist agst any Riseing or Invation of any Indians or Other Enemy and in token of theire fedillity psented Six beaver Skines one Elk ditto two beare ditto one fox ditto & one Martin ditto

[15] *N.Y. Col. Laws*, I:40–42, 125–126, 227–228, 304; *N.Y. Revised Laws, 1813*, II: Appendix V. It must not be supposed, however, that the Provincial courts of sessions in general negotiated treaties with the Indians in their respective counties, for in that regard the Ulster County court seems to have been unique. (See first footnote to this article.)

[16] *Inventory of the County Archives of New York State, No. 51, Ulster County* (WPA Historical Records Survey, 1940), Part II, p. 112, No. 349.

The Justices Received the Same with Satisfaction & told them if any of the Common Enemy should assault them that they should be welcome to Shelter themselves under the Christians and that then we would protect them and made them a present to theire great Sattisfaction[17]

The manuscript from which the above is taken is by no means the only extant record of the Ulster County Justices' continuing jurisdiction during the 18th century of Esopus treaty matters. The historian of *The Indian Tribes of Hudson's River*, in support of his assertion that "the Esopus clans . . . maintained their succession of sachems and held annual conferences with the justices at Kingston" right up to Revolutionary times, reported (1872): "The records of these conferences are scattered, some being found at Kingston, others in the Clinton and Johnson papers in the State Library, and others in the office of the secretary of state."[18] In a moment we shall record (again for the first time) some of the proceedings of those conferences at which, up to a century and more after the Peace was signed, the sachems of Esopus came before the Justices to ratify it.

First should be clarified: (1) what types of matter, other than ratification, came up for the Court's decision under the treaty terms; (2) the relations of the Court with the ultimate treaty-making authority of the Province—the Governor in Council; and (3) the manner by which one of the "Two several writings" of the original treaty came into the possession of the Court of Sessions of Ulster County, where it remains to this day.

Of the business other than yearly ratifications which the treaty brought for transaction by the Court, the settlement of an Indian claim for wages from a village employer has already been noted. Physical violence between the races, conditions of trade, contractual debts, destruction of Indian crops by the animals of

[17] Minutes of the Court of Sessions of Common Pleas [*sic*], of Ulster County, Mar. 1711 12—Sept. 1720 (NYSL MSS 7462), transcribed for the authors by courtesy of Miss Edna L. Jacobsen, head of the Manuscript Division, New York State Library, Albany. The minutes record as present at the June 2, 1712, meeting: "Cap[t] Dirck Schepmoes[,] Cap[t] Edw[d] Whittaker[,] M[r] Everet Wynkoop[, and] M[r] Cornelis Cook[,] Esq[rs] Justices of peace[,] and Ancrop Chiefe Sachime[,] Keataghcage[,] Aramochtan[,] Crawamogh[, and] Paijemhanck[,] Sachimes."

[18] Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, 201.

settlers, differences of interpretation of Indian land grants, the harboring of strange Indians by the Esopus, and rumors of Indian wars were other recurring matters of complaint or consultation. At the treaty renewal of June 2, 1712, for instance, it was recorded that:

> Paijemhanck the Indian Complains that Cap[t] Johannis Vernooy owes him a Cloth of Duffells & denyes to pay him and that Jurian Quick owes him a pound of powd[r] & a Shirt & also denyes to pay him The Justices told the Sachims to take Care to Inquire into the premises & if his demands be Just to do him Justice[19]

Although relations of whites with redskins seemed at that time to be entirely peaceful, only four weeks later the Justices found it advisable to recall the sachems to a special conference to discuss rumors of imminent uprisings against the settlers not only of Ulster County but of North Carolina as well. The minutes of that meeting read in part as follows:

> Ulster: SS: Att an Extra ordinary Meeting of the Justices of the peace for said County & the Chiefe-Sachimes of the Esopus Indians who were sent for by the Justices On The Occasion that Rumors were spread in this County that the Indians would Rise against the Christians—held in Kingston this 30[th] day of June 1712 . . .
>
> The Justices Informed the Sachimes that from Poghkepsinck there was a Letter written to his Excell[cy] the governor Importing that there had been three strange Indians & brought a band of wompum to Signifie & warne the Indians to make Ready to fight against the Christians & demanded of them if they knew any thing of it the sachaimes declared they knew nothing of what was Reported the Justices ffurther Implyed to them that they were Informed that Some Indians go against North Carolina & desired them if any Indians did Intice any of them to go against Any of the Queens Subjects that they deny the same & give notice thereof to the Christians They promised to do y[e] same[20]

A decade later, when chief sachem Ankerop (Ancrop) com-

[19] See note 17 above.

[20] Minutes of the Court of Sessions of Common Pleas [*sic*], of Ulster County, Mar. 1711, 12—Sept. 1720 (NYSL MSS 7462), transcribed for the authors by courtesy of Miss Edna L. Jacobsen, head of the Manuscript Division, New York State Library, Albany. Present at this meeting were: "Coll[o] Jacob Rutsen[,] Liu[t] Coll[o] A: Gaasbeek Chambers[, and] M[r] Everet Wynkoop[,] Esq[rs] Justices," with "Ancrop: Chiefe Sachim[, and] Keataghcage[,] Aramochtan[,] Orochlanienjo[,] Keatawerremin[, and] Meaquarrape[,] Sachimes."

plained that a "white man had offered violence to an Indian whom he had met carrying rum," the Justices promised to have the offender punished and in turn charged that the Indians "had hired negroes to fight against the Christians"; but this, Ankerop denied.[21] The prices of goods in trade and the traffic in liquor were the subjects of Indian discontent in 1745.[22] But difficulties over land claims, despite Nicolls' care in defining the boundaries of the original grant, seem to have been the most persistent cause of contention. Governor Andros at a conference of April 27, 1677, had tried to settle such disputes once and for all, first by additional payment for lands then in question, and then by arranging for "the limits [of the treaty boundary] to be determined by actual perambulation in presence of some Indians."[23] But subsequent purchases often provided new grounds of difference. One authority has even stated, with some exaggeration, that "Not a conference passed without a claim for lands taken from the Indians without compensation, many of them entirely unfounded, according to the English interpretation of boundaries, but doubtless well founded in the absolute knowledge of the claimants, who, in their sales, had designated hills and not intervening valleys."[24] An early example occurred April 10, 1702, when "several Indians of Esopus," in disputing the settlers' title to some of their land, declared before two of the Ulster County Justices that the Indian who had sold it was not an Esopus, had no land whatever, and so could convey no title.[25] A second example, more than three-score years later, is of interest not only in illustrating a long-standing dispute over the Hardenbergh Patent of 1708, but also in revealing Sir William Johnson's occasional intercession in Esopus matters. On April 28, 1769, Sir William wrote to John Bradstreet:

[21] Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, 201–202. For the story of Ankerop (Ancrop) and his relations with the whites over a period of more than seventy years, see *Olde Ulster*, V (1909), 257–263.

[22] See note 40 below and the text to which it pertains.

[23] O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.* (Albany: 1865–66), II:56 (26:52); *Docs. Rel. Col. Hist., N.Y.*, XIII:504–506, where the proceedings of the conference are given in full.

[24] Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, 202.

[25] *Cal. Hist. MSS., N.Y.*, II:292 (45:92).

I have at different times had occasion to look over Sundry old papers in the hands of the Esopus Indˢ. Some of which contained the purport of Meetings between Hardenbergh and them, and wherein they fully declared their Aversion to the Line he was desirous to run,—I don't find that there are any papers on that Subject in my Office but I think it would be Necessary for you to apply to the Indians in whose hands they remain for a Sight of them which they will not refuse. . . .[26]

This advice Bradstreet followed and reported to Johnson under date of May 4, 1769, that the Esopus Indians had declared in part:

That many disputes happened between their Ancestors & Hardenbergh; on the latters saying the former had sold the Lands to him as far as the Second Branch of Delaware; and that these disputes were sometimes before the Magistrates of Esopus [the Ulster County Court of Sessions] & committed to writing; which papers, two Years this autumn, they shew'd Sir William Johnson, who ordered Copys of them to be taken and that on their return to Esopus the present Hardenbergh ask'd them why they went to Sir William Johnson with the papers as he had no business with them as they were Esopus Indians, and ask'd for the papers which they deliver'd him thinking no harm, which he has not returned.[27]

Though the jurisdiction of such disputes had been placed in the Ulster County Court of Sessions, ultimate supervision of the treaty provisions and responsibility for seeing them carried out lay, on the English side, with the Governor in Council. To what extent the Governor, other than in the early instances already noted, intervened is not clear on the extant record, but that he did so on occasion is certain. An Executive Council minute of April 18, 1706, for instance, records an order for the "Treaty of 1665 with [the] Esopus Indians to be renewed."[28] There is also evidence that the Ulster County Justices occasionally deferred decision on questions arising under the treaty until the Governor's opinion and approval could be obtained. One such occasion arose through the sachems' promise in article 4 of the treaty renewal of 1676 that "In case any strange savages should

[26] James Sullivan, ed., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany: 1921–1951), VI:714–715.
[27] *Ibid.*, VI:738–739.
[28] *Calendar of Council Minutes 1668–1783* (NYSL Bull. 58, March 1902), 10:1.

arrive among them to inform us about it."[29] Accordingly, at the treaty conference of June 2, 1712, it was recorded that:

> The Said Sachimes Informes the Justices that there is about Six hundred Indians called Shawonnos who Cannot live at peace in theire own native Country & begged the Said Sachimes that they Might Settle among them to the west or north west of the blew hills in Ulster County where said Esopus Indians now Reside and that they will become Subjects under Ancrop the Chiefe Sachime of the Esopus Indians And the Said Sachimes ask leave of the Justices to settle said Indians Among them
>
> The Justices Answered that such things was above theire power to grant & that it did belong to his Excell[cy] the governor who they ought to Request for the same
>
> The Sachimes thereupon desired the Justices to Represent the desire of the said Indians & them to his Excell[cy] and to desire his Answer thereon The Justices promised to do the Same.[30]

However, the interpreter or the clerk of court must have misunderstood the sachems, for when they returned four weeks later to confer with the Justices on the last day of the same month, it was recorded that:

> The Sachimes said they was sorry to und[r] stand that it was Entered in the Renewing the peace the second day of this Instant that it was about six hundred Indians that would settle among them And Affirme it was but one Sachime & about thirty or forty Souls & desire that it may be Represented to his Excellency accordingly & that it are Indians that have Lived about Menesinck above twelve yeares.[31]

Whether the Executive Council minute of July 3, 1712: "Treaty with Esopus Indians renewed,"[32] indicates that the sachems' request had been approved or merely that the Ulster County Justices were tardy in reporting the ratification of June 2d is not known.

Ordinarily the Court of Sessions seems to have negotiated

[29] *Olde Ulster*, VI (1910), 114.

[30] See note 17 above.

[31] See note 20 above. It is possible, of course, that the June 2d minutes reported accurately what the Indians had then said but that the sachems, being apprised of the rumors of attempts to implicate them in the uprisings anticipated by the colonists of New York and North Carolina (see text to which note 20 pertains), considered it discreet to change their story in order to allay the white man's suspicions and fears. But this is pure conjecture.

[32] *Calendar of Council Minutes 1668–1783*, 11:115.

treaty ratifications and adjudicated matters under the treaty terms without interference or advice from the Provincial capital. No doubt the local Justices kept the successive Governors informed of current Indian affairs and reported regularly the circumstances surrounding the yearly renewals of the treaty, as Lovelace had ordered his special commissioners to do, or, if there was some delay, the Governor sent the justices a reminder, with instructions that the treaty "be renewed."

It will be remembered that "Two several writings" of the original instrument were made, one to be kept by the Indians, the other to be "upon record" in New York. Yet one of these—the document now in the office of the Clerk of Ulster County—bears an endorsement as follows: "Rec'd these Records in Court of Sessions of Sarah Rosecrance the 3^{d} October 1722." From this, three questions demand an answer: (1) Which of the "two writings" came to the Court through Sarah? (2) How did the Court, prior to that date, adjudicate matters concerned with the treaty without a copy being in its keep? And (3) how had the treaty come to be in Sarah's possession?

The first question is answered in a record of the treaty renewal of 1741, which indicates that the Indians then still possessed the copy entrusted to them in 1665, for the minutes of proceedings of the Ulster County Justices on that occasion reveal that the sachems brought with them and "shewed the Articles of peace made in Writting by our ancestors." A certified copy of those proceedings, which had been made for the Indians and eventually found its way into the Johnson Papers at the New York State Library, reads as follows:[33]

[Att a Meeting of Justices at Kingston on Monday ye 7th Sep^{t} 1741]

Present: Coll Abraham Gaasbeek Chambers, Cap^{t} Edward Whittaker, Majo^{r} Johannis Hardenbergh, Mr. Jacob Ten Broeck, Coll Gilbert Liv-

[33] *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, I:15-16, where the text is imperfectly reproduced because of mutilation in the fire of 1911. The bracketed portions are here supplied from a transcript made a year before the fire as printed in *Olde Ulster*, VI(1910), 85-86. A possible explanation of how this document came into Johnson's hands is contained in his letter to John Bradstreet quoted above.

ingston, Supervisor, Mr. Jan Van Duesen, Cap[t] John Sleght, Mr. Cornelius Newkerk, Supervisor, Esq[rs], Justices of the peace

The Esopus Indians haveing desired [a] meeting of the Justices, Nachnawachena alias Sander, chief Sachim, together with Hakewaremin, Qualaghquninjou, Walagaghin, under Sachims, & 23 Indians more besides Squaas & Children

The Indians, being asked what they had to offer to the Justices and made answer that they Came only to Shak-hands & Renue the ffriendship and gave three Small deer Skins Eight [musk]Rats & two minks and further Said they were a poor people & had no better present to make and they Expected that Each ought to assist the other.

The Justices answered that they were Glad that they came to Renue the peace which has been kept all along by the ancestors and [shall on the part of the justices and their children be kept as long as the world stands.]

[And the Justices told] them that if [they should come by the] knowledge of any Enemys [to hurt the Christians] they shall acquaint us [with it, as wee] Shall doe to them if wee know [of any Enemy] to hurt them; to which they all agreed.

The Sachems Shewed the Articles of peace made in Writting by our ancestors which they promissed to observe on their part, and the Justices promissed also to observe on their part.

The Indians Said they Intended to Come next Spring to Renue the peace again and they were answered that when they wanted to speake with the Justices that they ought first to Send a messenger to know when it would Suit the Justices, that they might acquaint the Justices that live Remote.

The Justices & Supervisors Gave the Indians a present of Eight pounds Eight Shillings & Six pence.

Ordered that the Indians have a Copy of these proceedings.

A true copy Examined p[e]r

Gil[bert] Livingston, Clerk

From the above it is evident that the treaty which the Ulster County justices received from Sarah Rosecrance in 1722 could not have been the copy Nicolls gave the Indians and so must have been the one he had retained "upon record" in New York. How, then, were the Justices before 1722 able to administer and effect the yearly renewal of an instrument not in their possession? During the early years, evidently, by applying to the Governor to have the treaty sent up from New York as occasion demanded,

for, when difficulties arose in 1677, Governor Andros in Council ordered:

That a copie of y^e^ agreem^t^ & purchase made by Governo^r^ *Nicolls* be sent up to Esopus and a perambulacon of y^e^ bounds be gone publiquely by Xtians and Indyans, the better to ascertain them without delay and so a decision in a friendly manner of any Difference, that may appear, or not well Exprest.[34]

It is beyond doubt that the practice of sending the treaty to Kingston for the yearly renewals was followed at least through 1681, for the subscriptions of Justices and of Indians to such renewals up to that date still appear upon it. In 1669 the treaty was left for a time with Henry Pawling, as officer to the Indians, to obtain their ratification and it is conceivable that after 1681 the treaty was placed in the custody of similar successive officers "to whom y^e^ Indyans should repaire for Redress of Injuryes." But this is mere conjecture, there being no record of such an officer after Pawling who, having been sheriff of the county in 1685–1689, died in the early 1690's.[35] Indeed, previously cited records of Executive Council action on the treaty up to 1712 possibly indicate that the retained parchment was kept during the first decade of the 18th century in the Provincial archives at New York. And from the fact that the Ulster County Justices at the renewal conference of 1712 relied upon the copy of the treaty which the Indians brought with them,[30] it seems probable that they did so at other conferences, too, as well before as during the decade following the renewal of 1712.

Sarah Rosecrance, or Rosenkrans, from whom the Justices received the treaty in 1722, was a daughter of Harmon Hendrick Rosenkrans, who about the middle of the 17th century came

[34] *Olde Ulster*, II(1906), 164. This order was made in fulfillment of Andros's agreement with the Indians in conference at Kingston, April 27, 1677, when he had given them additional payment to induce their acceptance of the English interpretation of the northern boundary of the grant.—*Docs. Rel. Col. Hist., N.Y.*, XIII:505.

[35] *NYHS Collections for 1892*, p. 251, where his will is dated January 21, 1691, and dated as proved March 25, 1695; Hutchins, *Civil List . . . of the Colony and State of New York* (Albany: 1880), 382. See also note 7 above and the text to which it pertains.

[30] See note 17 above and the text to which it pertains.

from Bergen, Norway, to New Amsterdam, where in 1657 he married Magdaleen Dircks. He settled in Kingston before 1661 and undoubtedly was there when the treaty was signed between Governor Nicolls and the Esopus tribes, for he remained in Ulster County until his death about 1697. Sarah died there a spinster in 1726.[37] It is tempting to conjecture that her father had succeeded Pawling as Indian officer and that the treaty came to her through him; or, as an alternate conjecture, that she had received it quite recently from her brother, Hendrick Rosenkrans, who may have had it through succession to his father's possible incumbency of the Esopus Indian office or through his marriage late in 1721 to the widow of Lucas DeWitt, whose own father, Tjerck Claesen DeWitt, it will be remembered, had participated in the treaty renewals of 1679, 1680, and 1681.[38] But the plain fact is, we do not know how long Sarah Rosenkrans had the document or why she should ever have had it in her possession at all. Whatever the reason, the treaty appears to have remained in the custody of the Court from that day (1722) to this.

Throughout the remainder of Colonial times scattered references and records indicate that the Esopus sachems continued their yearly appearances before the Justices to renew the treaty and obtain redress of grievances in accordance with its terms. We have already quoted at length a certified copy of the proceedings of the conference of 1741 in which the Justices declared that the treaty had "been kept all along by the ancestors" and the sachems expressed their intention of returning to renew it again in the spring of 1742. The record of a subsequent treaty conference, never before referred to (so far as the authors have discovered), has been found in the manuscript minutes of the Court of General Sessions, 1737–1750, in the office of the Clerk of Ulster County. There we learn that on May 7, 1745, seven

[37] Allen Rosenkrans, *The Rosenkrans Family in Europe and America* (Newton, N.J.: 1900), 48–49; *NYHS Coll. for 1893*, 372, where Sarah's will is dated January 17, 1726, and is dated as proved October 21, 1726.

[38] *The Rosenkrans Family*, 55; *Olde Ulster*, I (1905), 315, where Hendrick's marriage to DeWitt's widow is given as October 26, 1721—just a year before Sarah turned the treaty over to the Justices.

Justices of that Court—Johannis Hardenbergh, Cornelis Hoornbeek, Johannis and Cornelis De Sametter, Jacob Tenbroeck, John Heght [Sleght?], and Moses Du Pue, Jr.—met at Kingston to renew the treaty and consider the Indians' complaints. Before them appeared one Sandor, chief sachem of the Esopus Indians, accompanied by two lesser sachems, Hendrick Hekan and Renuan, as well as by several other Indians and an interpreter named Abell [David Abeel], an Indian trader whose knowledge of the native tongues was to save his life during his captivity by the Mohawks in the Revolutionary War.[39]

The Indians brought into court a beaver skin and four strings of wampum, stating that they were giving these to confirm the peace formerly made by their ancestors and those of the whites. Next they presented a deer skin and five mink skins "To Shake hands in friendship." Then they "gave Seven Ratts, they Complain that there are So Many Taverns, which is a great reason for their Poverty, and Desire That they may be Remedied." Last of all they made presents of "2 Ratts and one Deer Skin & 23 Pennys and Complains that their Produce is too Cheap and the Commodities which they want from the Christians Too Dear, and Therefore they Desire that their produce may be Dearer and the Christians Commodity Cheaper." Thereupon the Indians were told that they should have their answer in the afternoon, and the Court adjourned until three o'clock. When court opened, two Justices, William Burhans and Dirk Wynkoop, were added, and the following reply was made to the Indians:

1st The Justices Take it Very well of them to Renew the Peace made By both the Ancestors and that the same be kept in friendship on both Sides as long as the sun and moon Shines. 2nd The Justices Join heartily in Shaking hands wth greatest friendship. 3rd As to the Taverns the Justices

[39] David Abeel, in 1781, was captured with his son from their home near Catskill by a party of Tories and Mohawks. Being too old to keep up with his fleeing captors, he overheard the Indians whispering that they would have to kill him. He then spoke in the native tongue to the leader, who was so pleased with Abeel's knowledge of the Mohawk language and with learning of his having formerly been an Indian trader that he thenceforth treated the old man with kindness. Later, Abeel was released on parole and "sent home because of his age."—*Olde Ulster*, IV (1908), 328-331.

Cannot Lessen the Number of them and advise you to Sobriety and to Mind their Hunting to Maintain Their Familys, But if any white People Defraud or Cheat Them if they Complain and it Appearing So, the Justices will see them Justice Done. 4th As to the Prices of Goods on [the respective] Sides[, they] must be Regulated according as Parties on both Sides Can Agree.

The Court did not wish to be outdone in the giving of gifts, for the Justices ordered the following presents, to the total value of £10, to be delivered to the Indians: five gallons of rum, a barrel of beer, three loaves of bread, twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, a calf, bacon, strouds (coarse blanket-like garments used in trade with Indians), and six hats.

It may be assumed that the Indians then departed, for the Court promptly sold for £1.14.9 the gifts brought by Sandor and his followers. Justice Burhans purchased the deer skins for fourteen shillings four and a half pence; Justice Hardenbergh acquired a string of wampum for nine shillings two pence; one Abraham Hasbrouck bought the nine muskrat skins, five mink skins, and the beaver skin for eleven shillings three pence. Thus the Indians had gone their way richer than they came by some eight pounds worth of commodities, and the Court adjourned until nine o'clock the next day.[40]

The chief sachem, Sandor (or "Sanders"), whose Indian name was Nachnawachena, is heard of again, for he appeared in Kingston for a conference on September 7, 1771, accompanied by three sachems, twenty-three Indians, besides squaws and children.[41] This was the last Esopus Indian treaty conference under English rule of which record has been found. When Governor Tryon, on June 11, 1774, answered a query from the home authorities: "What number of Indians have you & how are they inclined?", he reported:

The Indians who formerly possessed . . . that part of this Province which lies below Albany, are now reduced to a small number, and are in

[40] The whole episode is recorded in the manuscript minutes of the Court of General Sessions, 1737–1750, under date of May 7, 1745, in the Office of the Clerk of Ulster County in Kingston, N.Y.

[41] Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, 253, cites manuscripts of Sir William Johnson, XXIII:4.

general so scattered and dispersed, and so addicted to wandering that no certain account can be obtained of them . . . These Tribes have generally been denominated River Indians and consist of about Three Hundred Fighting Men—They speak a language radically the same, and are understood by the Delaware being originally of the same Race. Most of these People at present profess Christianity, and as far as in their power adopt our Customs—The greater part of them attended the Army during the late [French and Indian] War but not with the same reputation as those who are still deemed Hunters.[42]

Nevertheless, by the time the Revolution had gotten under way, sufficient numbers of Esopus Indians remained on their homeland for the Provincial Convention of New York to deem it expedient to take measures to attach them to the American cause. On July 24, 1776, it was recorded that:

> Colo. [Charles] DeWitt informed the Convention that there are a number of Indians in some parts of the country of Ulster, to whom it would be good policy to distribute a small supply of gunpowder. . . .
>
> *Ordered*, That seventy weight of gunpowder be delivered by Henry Wisner, Jr. Esqr. to Major Arthur Parks . . . [and others] to be distributed gratis to the said Indians in Ulster country. . . .[43]

Again on July 27, 1776, the Convention ordered that "two hundred flints" and "250 pounds weight of lead" be "distributed gratis" to the Esopus Indians.[44] But the Convention left it to the Justices of Ulster County, in conformity with the ancient practice, to negotiate a treaty binding the Esopus Indians in friendship and alliance with the Americans. On November 12, 1776, the State of New York acknowledged itself debtor "To the Justices of Ulster County & Committee of Kingston" for £37.17.5 which the Court had paid for rum, beef, flour, mutton, turnips, potatoes, beer, strong beer, strouds, bread, and broadcloth, as presents, and for runners to summon the Indians "for the Treaty Held this Day with the Esopus Indians."[45]

[42] *Docs. Rel. Col. Hist. of N.Y.*, VIII:451. It has been said that the Esopus Indians were mainly an agricultural people -indeed that their granaries (pits) of corn and beans were sufficient to feed the entire Province.

[43] *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, and Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New-York, 1775–1776–1777* (Albany: 1842), I:539.

[44] *Ibid.*, I:545.

[45] Voucher, audited June 10, 1777, and paid June 11, 1777, on file in the Office of

Faithful to this treaty, the Esopus tribes supported the Americans so far as they were able. They informed on the Ulster County Tories and resisted the pressure of other tribes to join in hostile alliance with the British. But they were not able to keep Joseph Brant and his Iroquois from making their settlements his base of operations against the patriots, so Governor Clinton was forced to send Col. William Butler, in the fall of 1778, down the Susquehanna to wipe out the settlements and drive the Indians from their homes into the wilderness. One student of the Esopus Indians summed up their virtues and described their end as follows:[46]

> The Indians of the Esopus had been more fortunate than any others, and had their development not been arrested might have reached a higher civilization than elsewhere in the country. It was stated by Lieutenant Governor Colden to Lord Dartmouth four years before that they were then promising much. Whither did they flee? Most of them went down the Susquehanna among the Delawares of Pennsylvania . . . a number of the dispersed made their way northwestward into the villages of the Oneidas to their Wolf brethren.

After the Revolution "the faithful Oneidas were granted a reservation in Wisconsin," from which one of them wrote many years later that about 1847 "there were yet in Wisconsin a few families who could trace their descent from our Esopus Indians." Others of the Esopus were scattered elsewhere in the Middle West, the near Southwest, and in Canada.[47] From the latter group, "About 1845 a squaw and her two sons" appeared for several seasons to camp on their ancestral grounds. "These Indians were the last of the Esopus tribe who ever seemed to claim anything like a heritage in the lands of their fathers. . . . The last Indian to reside permanently on the banks of Rondout creek is said to have been an old man who lingered until about 1830, and died on Esopus shore. . . ."[48]

---

the Comptroller, Albany, N.Y., quoted in full in *Olde Ulster*, III(1907), 336. It will be remembered that the capital of New York was then Kingston.

[46] Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, 272; *Olde Ulster*, III(1907), 327–328.

[47] *Olde Ulster*, III(1907), 328–339.

[48] *Ibid.*, I(1905), 253.

LETTERS ON THE CHICKASAW REMOVAL OF 1837

Edited by JOHN E. PARSONS*

AT THE TIME of writing the letters to follow, Bowes Reed McIlvaine (1795–1866) was a wholesale forwarding merchant and president of an insurance company in Louisville.[1] A

MERCHANTS'
LOUISVILLE INSURANCE COMPANY.
CAPITAL—$100,000.
East side Wall, one door from Main.
B. R. McILVAINE, Pesident.
W. S. VERNON, Secretary.
BUSINESS COMMITTEE OF THE OFFICE.

H. B. HILL,	H. H. FORSYTH,
L. D. ADDISON,	C. COLEMAN,
W. G. BAKEWELL,	VIRGIL McKNIGHT.

C

ADVERTISEMENT FROM LOUISVILLE [KY.] DIRECTORY, 1836

Copy at The New-York Historical Society

son of Senator Joseph McIlvaine of New Jersey, he had graduated from Princeton and after service in the War of 1812 and commercial ventures in Cadiz, Spain, he went to Kentucky where he married Catharine Dumesnil. His journey down the Ohio and up the Tennessee River in the fall of 1837, returning

* Mr. Parsons, a trustee of this Society, is a previous contributor to this *Quarterly* and other journals, and the author of several books on American firearms—some reviewed in these pages (October 1951 and January 1953).

[1] After moving from Louisville to the environs of Philadelphia, McIlvaine was from 1840 onwards a resident of New York City, at 44 Great Jones Street, 16 West 16th Street, and 187 Second Avenue. In 1854 he became a life member of The New-York Historical Society. His daughter Mary, later Mrs. John E. Parsons (1834–1896), appears in *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, Vol. II, pp. 202, 237, 244. The letters are now in the possession of Mrs. Montgomery Hare, through whose courtesy they are reproduced.

CATHERINE DUMESNIL McILVAINE

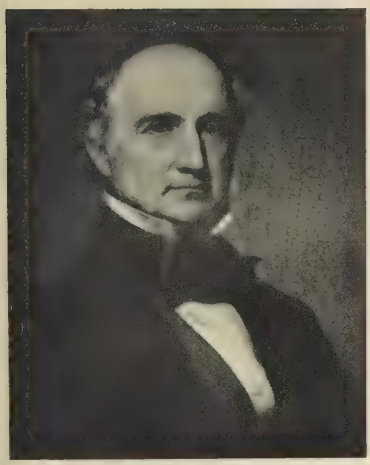
BOWES REED McILVAINE

Painted by Thomas Sully, 1833

Courtesy of Mr. Tompkins McIlvaine

via the Mississippi, was undertaken to collect accounts in arrears due to the panic of that year. Yet his letters home to his wife made little mention of business matters. His observations were those of a traveller, and one with a taste for elegance. Near Memphis he happened upon an historic incident of which his description is perhaps the fullest extant.

By treaties of 1832 and 1834, the Chickasaw Indians, one of the Five Civilized Tribes, ceded to the United States all their lands east of the Mississippi (parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee), in return for the promise of new areas further west. Like other Indian cessions, this one was not voluntary but induced by the pressures and encroachments of white expansion. In 1837, after the Chickasaws had acquired a tract of Choctaw land in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), the Government at Washington appointed officials to supervise and expedite the migration. It got under way in July, when a first party of five hundred Indians from northern Mississippi crossed the river at Memphis under the guidance of Major A. M. M. Upshaw. His official re-



MR. & MRS. B. R. McILVAINE IN LATER LIFE

Painted by George Augustus Baker, Jr. (1821–1880)

Courtesy of Mr. D. Percy Morgan *Courtesy of Mrs. Montgomery Hare*

ports to the Indian Bureau and a journal kept by John M. Millard, an assistant, have heretofore been the chief sources of information regarding the removal.[2]

Late in November the main body of Indians, some five thousand in number, reached Memphis, whence it was planned to convey them by steamboats to Fort Coffee in Indian Territory. But because of the recent loss of a river steamer with three hundred Creek emigrants aboard, many of the Chickasaws refused to proceed by boat. The outcome was reported by Major Upshaw as follows: "those that are going by land have been crossing the river for several days and it is likely they will be crossed in three or four days. The Chickasaws have an immense quantity of baggage. A great many of them have fine waggons and teams. They have also some four or five thousand ponies." It was this Mississippi crossing that B. R. McIlvaine witnessed, and his description does full justice to the scene.

[2] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, Okla.: 1932, reissued 1953), 206, 213.

[Shawneetown, Illinois]
Friday—[November] 17th—[1837]

My dear Wife,

I find myself in a little, but quiet boat; the Captain & officers know me, & are very attentive, giving me the head of the table as usual—clean sheets & other comforts. The passengers are quiet reading people, & I can read or write or indulge my thoughts, agreeable because of home, yet mournful, without molestation. It is eleven years since I was down the river—but I see no improvement on the shores—log-houses & wood-yards & partial clearings—no more—rude plenty without a shadow of refinement. . . .

Waterloo [Alabama]—25 miles from Florence [Alabama]
Monday—Nov. 20 [1837]

My own dear precious wife,

We arrived here safely this evening—having had a quiet & not unpleasant—but very slow passage. I go from here to Florence & thence to Tuscumbia 8 miles, thence to Decatur 30 miles, then take the stage across the Indian country (Chickasaw) to Memphis. . . . I brought along with me—Bulwer's Ernest Maltravers, which has so captivated me, that I now send it back to you for your enjoyment. . . .

Decatur Al[a] Nov. 24, 1837

My dear precious Wife,

I have written to you twice since I left home, once from Shawnee[3]—& once with some books from Waterloo. On Wednesday, I hired a waggon to carry my trunk with two other gentlemen & walked over to Florence 28 miles—same night came to Tuscumbia—& yesterday—43 miles to this place. I found the money here, that I expected, neither more nor less. I shall go back to-day to Tuscumbia—stay there to-morrow, & Monday take the stage to Memphis—from which my next letter will be directed.

I have had fine health & the cold makes the country more like the North than I expected. The more I see of this nigger & cotton land, the more I want to get out of it, before a judgment comes on them. Such miserable houses, such dirt & miserable fare, coupled with such paltry pretentions never were so contrasted. I think after seeing it all, I shall be able to put up with Penn[a] & even the regions round about Phil[a]. Oh the horrid ugly sickly women, & the swearing, tobacco spitting, whiskey drinking men. I am ill from the like, as you may suppose. . . .

[3] Shawneetown, Illinois, on the Ohio River below the mouth of the Wabash.

St Bt Dan O'Connel Dec 2[d] 1837

My own dear Wife,

This is letter No. 4. My last was from Decatur Al[a] on the 24th Nov. That day I went 43 miles to Florence, next day got thru my business—by night—& then having no conveyance that night to Florence[4] I hired a negro to carry my trunk & walked over in time for a late supper—got a nap of sleep & took the stage for Memphis[5] at 3 o'clock—& arrived there by dint of riding in mud carts, & walking in three days & as many nights. There I found Capt. Buckner,[6] who spoke in the highest terms of Henry's conduct & character. Henry[7] is up Arkansas with Indians—you may suppose that I was much gratified.

Enclosed you will find a letter intended for your & our dear Mother's reading, giving an account of my observations among the Indians, which I thought would amuse you both. It was written amidst much noise & confusion—but gives some idea of a remarkable scene. After you & the boys have read it, write to our Mother & enclose it to her.

When young I was greatly excited by reading Pike[8] & Lewis & Clark's[9] travels to the Rocky Mountains, & for years longed to make such a trip—while young & single. Irving's Astoria & Capt. Bonneville's journey[10]—again roused this sort of feeling & I was prepared to enjoy the wildness of the late scenes I have attempted to describe. How I did wish for you

[4] The writer evidently meant Tuscumbia, Alabama, across the Tennessee River from Florence. At that time there was a railroad powered by mules between Tuscumbia and Decatur, and a canal on the north side of the river around Muscle Shoals.

[5] The stage route from Tuscumbia to Memphis through the Chickasaw cession was 164 miles. J. Calvin Smith's *Emigrants' Handbook* (1850), 207.

[6] Simeon Buckner, steamboat agent, of Louisville. He contracted with Capt. Joe A. Phillips, U. S. disbursing agent at Memphis, to transport the Chickasaws from Memphis to Fort Coffee at $14.50 each. $108,544.50 was paid him for carrying 3001 Indians, including $54,520 for baggage and $14,372.50 for boat demurrage. Later with the aid of Vice President Richard M. Johnson, he collected $37,749 more on account of Indians going by land. The Committee of Public Expenditures took strong exception to this payment. House Rep. 454, 27th Cong. 2nd Sess., Serial 408.

[7] Henry Dumesnil, brother of Mrs. McIlvaine, listed in *Louisville Directory*, 1836, p. 17, as "clerk at McIlvaine & Haydon's store."

[8] Major Zebulon Pike, *An account of expeditions to the sources of the Mississippi, and through the western parts of Louisiana, to the sources of the Arkansaw, Kans, La Platte, and Pier Jaun, rivers; performed by order of the Government of the United States during the years 1805, 1806, and 1807* (Philadelphia: 1810).

[9] *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the source of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the river Columbia to the Pacific ocean. Performed during the years 1804–5–6. By order of the Government of the United States.* Prepared for the press by Paul Allen, esquire. (Philadelphia: 1814.)

[10] Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains* (London, Paris and Philadelphia: 1836); *Adventures of Captain Bonneville, or Scenes beyond the Rocky Mountains of the far West* (London, Paris and Philadelphia: 1837).

to have been with me. It is the last opportunity that will ever be presented within reach of civilized people. They are departing & their place will know them no more. The purposes for which like the Mammoth & after, the Buffaloes, were created by Providence, have been answered, & like the Ishmaelites they will pass from the face of the Earth, & live but in the memory of future generations, who will occupy their fields & trample their graves.

At Memphis after getting thro with my business, I had the good fortune to find Capt. Robertson with the St Bt O'Connel,[11] who welcomed me most heartily, gave me a snug state-room, a bottle of good wine & I am resting charmingly after my fatigues. Everything is at my disposal & the servants as attentive as if they were my own. In return I have helped him, in getting passengers & cotton & the boat is now lying to at Ward & Johnson's plantations finishing her load. . . . Tell Col. Robertson[12] how comfortable I am with his nephew & that the Boat will make this her second trip, full of cotton to N.O. at fair prices. . . .

Arkansaw [Nov.–Dec. 1837]

My dear Mother

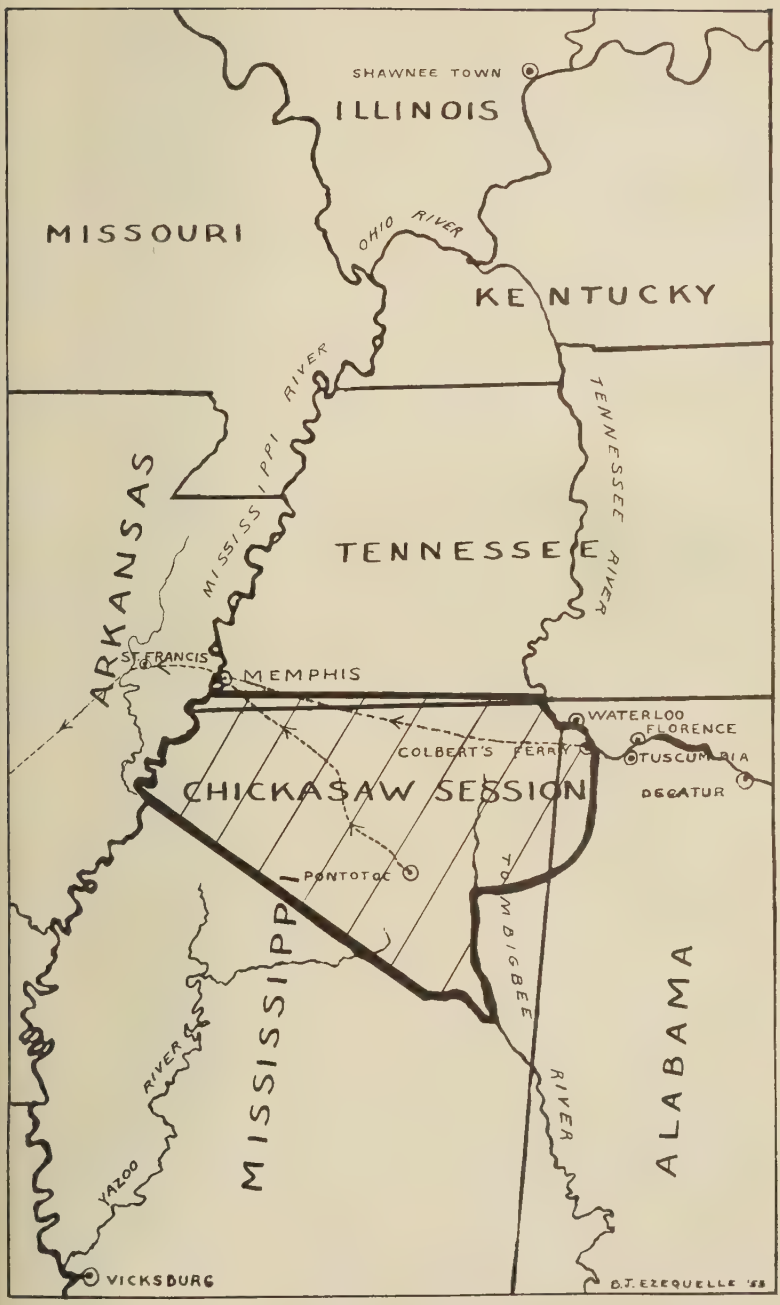
I wrote to you last from Alabama. It is *possible* you may want to know where I went to, next, & by looking above, you will see I am writing in an Arkansaw swamp. Such a trip as I had across the country to the Miss[i] sometimes on a stage, sometimes in a mud wagon—& sometimes taking it afoot, with a nigger carrying my trunk on his head. The last was far the pleasantest—& interesting to the highest degree when I got among the immense train of emigrants to Texas. Among such people my pedestrian powers were duly appreciated. At last I struck upon a great band of the Chickasaws bound to new lands far in the West. Some of the agents & U. S. officers were old acquaintances[13] & rec[d] me with open arms & with them I crossed the Mississippi River & encamped in Arkansaw. It is said "in *medio* tutissimus," & doubtless it may be the *safest* to be in the *middle* ranks of life & society, but I am sure it is not the pleasantest, because it is the vulgarest. If therefore I could not command the most refined society, I would choose that of the woods.

[11] Steamboat Daniel O'Connell, 240 tons. *Louisville Directory*, 1836, p. 62.

[12] James Robertson, lawyer, of Louisville.

[13] Probably Capts. Buckner and Phillips, note 6. The latter came from New Jersey.

The map opposite shows the area visited by B. R. McIlvaine. The broken lines indicate the overland routes of the Chickasaws to the Mississippi crossing, 1837. Based upon Foreman (see note 2 herein) and Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report* (1899), Plate CXLIII.


SHAWNEE TOWN
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
OHIO RIVER
KENTUCKY
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
TENNESSEE RIVER
ARKANSAS
TENNESSEE
ST. FRANCIS
MEMPHIS
WATERLOO
FLORENCE
COLBERT'S FERRY
TUSCUMBIA
DECATUR
CHICKASAW SESSION
PONTOTOC
TOMBIGBEE RIVER
YAZOO RIVER
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
VICKSBURG
D.T. EZEQUELLE '58

It has been said by somebody that there exists in every man, a little remnant of the savage—& after my disgusts with what *affects to be* refined life, I have felt that same small germ mightily developed within the past few days. One has such appetite & spirits, & breathes so full & sleeps so sound, after a day's march. I remember years ago, I used in the woods to feel a longing to whoop & halloo, to give vent to high health & spirits, when setting out in the morning for a journey. I thought that years of care & trouble had taken that boyishness pretty well out of me, but I find that I have a deal of elasticity in body & mind remaining, only it has been kept down by too severe a weight.

I do not think that I have ever been a witness of so remarkable a scene as was formed by this immense column of moving Indians, several thousand, with the train of Gov[t] waggons, the multitude of horses; it is said three to each Indian & beside at least six dogs & cats to an Indian. They were all most comfortably clad—the men in complete Indian dress with showy shawls tied in turban fashion round their heads—dashing about on their horses, like Arabs, many of them presenting the finest countenances & figures that I ever saw.[14] The women also very decently clothed like white women, in calico gowns—but much tidier & better put on than common white-people—& how beautifully they managed their horses, how proud & calm & erect, they sat in full gallop. The young women have remarkably mild & soft countenances & are singularly decorous in their dress & deportment.[15] There were some white women, wives of Indians & they were decidedly the least neat of the party.

It was a striking scene at night—when the multitudes of fires kindled, showed to advantage the whole face of the country covered with the white tents & white covered waggons, with all the interstices (between them) filled with a dense mass of animal life in the shape of savages, uncouth looking white hunters, the picturesque looking Indian negroes,[16] with dresses belonging to no country but partaking of all, & these changing & mingling with the hundreds of horses hobbled & turned out to feed & the troops of dogs chasing about in search of food—& then you

[14] "They presented a handsome appearance, being nearly all mounted and, with few exceptions, well dressed in their national costume." Report quoted in Foreman, note 2, p. 206. See also Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies: or The Journal of a Santa Fé Trader* (New York: 1844), Vol. II, p. 260.

[15] H. B. Cushman, *History of the Chocktaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas: 1899), 488: "The ancient Chickasaws were deservedly celebrated for their handsome young women; and seldom have I looked upon such specimens of female grace and loveliness as I have seen among the Chickasaws three-quarters of a century ago in their former homes east of the Mississippi River."

[16] Like their white neighbors in the South, the Chickasaws were slave owners. Wyatt F. Jeltz, "The Relation of Negroes and Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians," *Journal of Negro History*, January, 1948, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 24, 28, 30; Foreman, note 2, p. 225.

would hear the whoops of Indians calling their family party together to receive their rations, from another quarter a wild song from the negroes preparing the corn, with the strange chorus that the rest would join in—& then the waggoners & hunters round their fires would get up their odd singing—& this would set a thousand hounds baying & curs yelping—& then the fires would catch tall dead trees & rushing to the tops throw a strong glare over all this moving scene, deepening the savage traits of the men, & softening the features of the women; till at last I almost thought I was suddenly transported to some oriental land, or that one of the wild dreams that are common to men of active imagination was being represented for my amusement in real life.

It was my delight to wander at will, wherever anything strange led me, going into the tents—making friends with the men by shaking hands & with the women by playing with the little fat naked wild children—dividing apples among them, to their great satisfaction. Great pains were taken by the agents to keep liquor from the men, & few were drunk—the women neither drink nor smoke—but mostly were seated on skins sewing or doing some kind of work—singularly calm & composed—& contrasted with the incessant galloping about of the men. Only the poorest of the squaws carr[d] burthens—nearly all had ponies for that purpose, which they led, riding (on good side saddles) other horses. The women make their own clothes remarkably well. The fondness for dogs was the most prevalent & amusing. One old woman who had lost her pony was carrying a heavy load on her back with a belt across her forehead—to balance which, she had a basket in front suspended round her neck in which were *nine* fine puppies; the respectable mother of which, trotted contentedly—though *doggedly* behind, to see that none were dropped by the way. Some had their cats & litters of kittens—others their favorite chickens ducks & turkeys.

I shall never forget the singular picture the whole party presented, when all were got across the Miss'—& in one dense mass covered the whole open ground on the bank. It was a scene to paint, not describe with words—civilized society is so uniform & tame in the dress & manner & equipage that a crowd has no life in it. Here however no one man was like another, no horse caparisoned like another. Their clothing was of all the bright colors of the rainbow & arranged with every possible variety of form & taste—but all *flowing* & fantastic & *untailorlike*. I wish I could have sketched that scene,[17] as they stood each above the other

[17] Such a sketch would be invaluable. John C. Ewers, Associate Curator of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, writes: "In so far as pictures are concerned the Chickasaw seem to have been pretty much of a lost tribe. Numerous contemporary pictures of Cherokee, Creek, Seminole and some Choctaw are available for the period of the '30s. But I don't know of a single picture of a Chickasaw of that period."

from the water's edge to the top of the ascending ground. They seemed grouped there, to present one grand display of barbaric pomp.

Much money could not compensate for the loss of what I have seen the last few days. With all, there was mixed sympathy for the exiles—for they go unwillingly— whether it be for their good or not—moreover the agents & officers all concurred in speaking of the integrity of the men & the good behaviour of the women—keep only liquor away from the men. They said that it rarely happened that any violence was committed by them against the whites, but after receiving the worst & strongest provocation.

A curious scene took place—two Indians quarrelled & one killed the other. The murderer never attempted to move, but presented himself to be killed by the victim's brother. They tied him to a tree, where he sang his death song—& then one brother came up to strike his tomahawk into his head, the other not wincing the least, at which moment, a white waggoner caught the arm of the avenger & with the aid of others confined him—the doomed man in the meanwhile showing no apparent interest.[18] At last the officers came up & told him to get up & run for his life. The Indian point of honour was satisfied & no deer ever ran faster, than the poor devil out of the camp, probably not to stop till he reaches some other tribe. What curious scenes one does mix in, when moving about our immense country—& my chances have been abundant. . . .

Vicksburgh Dec. 11, 1837

My dear Wife,

I reached Vicksburgh first, on Saturday the 2d Inst. Dined with Mrs. George—her husband[19] then away—found there Mrs. Dr. Stone. Took tea that night at Smedes[20] & dined there on Sunday. These two families have been exceedingly attentive; rec[d] an invitation to a party at Bodley's[21] but did not go.

This is the worst tavern on earth, being the dirtiest that can be conceived—your boots want cleaning after walking your room—& the poorest fare—to eat out therefore is clear gain. By the way I have just eaten an oyster supper at George's. Ward, Hill[22] & Myself had rooms together, but a week ago, Hill went below & Ward & myself went in a Steam Boat up the Yazoo River, 80 miles. There I slept on a floor on my

[18] Jesse D. Jennings, ed., "Nutt's trip to the Chickasaw Country," *Journal of Mississippi History*, January 1947, Vol. IX, pp. 39, 46, chronicling a journey by Dr. Rush Nutt in 1805, states "They know no punishment but death nor have they any mode of enforcing any law except for murder." But see John R. Swanton, "Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians," 44th Annual Report, American Bureau of Ethnology, 1926, pp. 173, 216.

[19] W. W. George of Vicksburg.

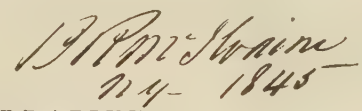
[20] William C. Smedes, lawyer, of Vicksburg.

[21] William S. Bodley, lawyer, of Vicksburg.

blankets, next morning borrowed a horse of a man I had never seen, on the strength of my name & rode 15 miles to Dr. Stone's—was rec[d] with great kindness, in his log cabin, lodged that night & with his horse in continued rains, I rode all over the country & got back to the Yazoo River last night. . . .

All the particulars of my visit to them & other planters thro the country I must reserve till we meet—such incongruities—such want of comfort—such certainty of sickness & probability of death, such sacrifices to be *called Planters*, never were before seen. Hospitable they are & liberal but then all is said. Log-cabins, chinked with earth & *mud* chimnies are nearly universal—no plaster, no ceilings & holes that you can creep thro but inside costly, that is to say a few costly articles of furniture—such as a sideboard & bureau & in one case mahogany chairs—no shutters & no door or window fastenings. . . .

[22] H. B. Hill and Robert J. Ward, merchants of Louisville.



NARRATIVE

OF THE

UNITED STATES

EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

DURING THE YEARS

1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.

BY

CHARLES WILKES, U.S.N.

COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION.

AUTOGRAPH OF THE LETTER-WRITER ON TITLE PAGE OF BOOK

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Lincoln and Greeley. By Harlan Hoyt Horner. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1953. viii + 432 pages, biblio., index. $6.00.)

"Mr. A. Lincoln," wrote Horace Greeley in February 1865, "is a gentleman with whom I hope to be always on terms of civility but not of cordiality. I opposed his renomination for the simple reason that I did not deem him the man for the place." Greeley, declared the President, was like an old shoe whose leather is so rotten it cannot be mended. "He is not truthful; the stitches all tear out."

It was ironical that these two Republican leaders should so often have been antagonists, for their careers ran in closely parallel paths. Born of rather poor parents and self-educated, both men came early under the influence of Henry Clay's political philosophy. Both young Whigs served as representatives in the Thirtieth Congress. Both were antislavery in principle but both were reluctant, as Lincoln said, to be "unwhigged"; and neither pioneered in the formation of the Republican party. But in the last years before the Civil War, Greeley, through his editorials in his influential New York *Tribune*, and Lincoln, through his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, came to be recognized as outstanding leaders of the new party.

Parallelism is not identity, and if Lincoln and Greeley generally agreed on ends, they seldom concurred as to means. As the Civil War neared, Greeley favored letting the Southern states secede in peace, but Lincoln had given his oath to uphold the Union. When hostilities broke, "General" Greeley demanded an "On to Richmond" campaign, and Lincoln yielded against his better judgment. In his "Prayer of Twenty Millions," Greeley besought the President to emancipate the Southern slaves, but Lincoln repeated that his "paramount object" in the war was not abolition but the restoration of the Union.

It is this story of alternating agreement and animosity which is traced in Harlan Hoyt Horner's *Lincoln and Greeley*. Not "intended in any sense to be a history of Lincoln's and Greeley's time or a full account of their careers," Mr. Horner's book is "an attempt to present their common experiences and especially to portray their relations and interactions upon the 'great and durable element of popular action' to which they devoted their lives."

For so limited a purpose, *Lincoln and Greeley* is a very long book. Much of Mr. Horner's story is quite familiar to students of the Civil War period, for, as the author himself admits, many of the episodes have been "told and retold." To this well-known material have been added long stretches which are little more than a textbook summary of general national history. At times Mr. Horner has depended upon sources which professional historians reject. His reliance upon W. H. Herndon's

narrative, for instance, seriously distorts the true story of Lincoln's entry into the Republican party. It is unfortunate that the Roy P. Basler edition of Lincoln's writings was not available in time for Mr. Horner's use, for the garbling of Lincoln's "paramount object" letter (p. 273) could have been avoided and a letter to R. J. Walker (pp. 246–7), which Basler correctly identifies as "inaccurate or spurious," could have been deleted.

Such reservations should not be taken as a total condemnation of Mr. Horner's book. If some of the story is familiar, it has never before been presented in anything like such detail. By printing in parallel columns contemporaneous statements of Lincoln and Greeley, Mr. Horner gives new insights into the minds of both men. Particularly to be commended is the chapter on "Peace Overtures," in which manuscripts from the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection are skillfully used to trace Greeley's elaborate negotiations with self-styled Confederate peace envoys at Niagara Falls.

Fully documented, *Lincoln and Greeley* reflects Mr. Horner's lifetime interest in the Civil War President and his affectionate admiration for the great New York editor. For both his protagonists the author has sympathy and understanding, tempered by sound critical judgment.

Columbia University DAVID DONALD

The American Diaries of Richard Cobden. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by ELIZABETH HOON CAWLEY. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952. xii + 233 pages, illus., biblio., index. $4.00.)

The United States of America has had few more understanding friends abroad than the great English liberal, Richard Cobden. A life-long internationalist, he alone among British statesmen seems to have understood what was at stake in the American Civil War and, in the last years of his life, spoke out effectively for the Union cause at a time when it seemed that Great Britain might sink a knife into her rival's back. Cobden died before Appommatox, but not before he had seen the danger of British intervention averted, partly by his own efforts, and the survival of the Union assured.

It is surprising that Richard Cobden's American diaries have had to wait so long for publication, for they are of unusual interest, both as revelations of an attractive public figure and as pictures of the American scene in the quarter-century before the Civil War. Obviously never intended for publication, the diaries are often scrappy and not always especially readable, but as the spontaneous impressions of a foreign visitor who was not hypnotized by spittoons and democratic manners, they deserve a place on the shelf too much dominated by the Trollopean school of candor.

Cobden first visited America in 1835, when he was a comparatively young and obscure manufacturer. In the course of a rapid swing around

the northeastern United States, the young Englishman was appropriately awed by the sublimity of Niagara Falls, critical of the New York belles for their "deficiency of bust and *bustle*," but above all impressed with the economic promise of America. Looking down into the Mississippi valley from the last range of the Alleghany Mountains, he wrote: "Here will one day center the civilization, the wealth, the power of the entire world." Nearly a quarter-century later, toward the end of his distinguished parliamentary career, Cobden returned to America to inspect the Illinois Central Railroad of which he was a Director. Though he was made much of everywhere as a visiting celebrity, his eyes were on the country he had visited as a young man twenty-four years earlier. He was not disappointed. American democracy and the American economy were thriving, the great Mississippi Valley was indeed filling its earlier promise. Cobden returned to England more than ever convinced of the approaching greatness of the young nation across the Atlantic and devoted the last years of his life to its defence in England during the Civil War.

Although he was conscious of certain refinements of European culture lacking in the New World, especially on his first visit, Cobden was too great an optimist to be much distressed by their absence. Like his American friends, the liberal Englishman was more concerned with the future than with the past. American promise meant far more to him than the incidental crudities of a nation still a-building. It is this atmosphere of optimism which gives to Cobden's American diaries their particular charm.

Despite their lack of literary pretensions, these diaries are frequently illuminated by shrewd observations and character sketches, which vividly convey the expansive spirit of the period of Cobden's visits. The diaries are well annotated and edited with scrupulous faithfulness to the originals, and the editor's long introduction adds greatly to the usefulness of the volume by presenting in considerable detail the largely untold record of Cobden's life-long connections with America, during his visits and during his English career.

The New-York Historical Society DAVID H. WALLACE

Portrait of the Old West, with a Biographical Check List of Western Artists. By HAROLD MCCRACKEN. Foreword by R. W. G. VAIL, LITT.D., Director, The New-York Historical Society. (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. 232 pages, 64 plates (32 in color) and 62 illustrations and vignettes in the text. $10.00.)

Within recent years there has been an ever-increasing interest in the pictorial history of the Old West. The first book to achieve success, due in part at least to the illustrations made after pictures by artists who visited the Old West in the first half of the 19th century, was Bernard

de Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri*. Mr. McCracken's book is, however, the first to treat the subject as a whole. In addition it is the first to be directed toward the general public, although at the same time adding new material that is useful to the serious student.

The book begins with a summary of what is known about the first illustrations of Indians and the Old West. Then, starting with the early 19th century, there is a series of chapters devoted either to a group of artists or to a single artist. One is concerned with Samuel Seymour, Peter Rindisbacher, and James Otto Lewis. Single chapters are devoted to George Catlin, Seth Eastman, Karl Bodmer, Alfred Jacob Miller, John Mix Stanley, Charles Deas, Paul Kane, Charles Wimar, Friedrich Kurz, Albert Bierstadt, Ralph Albert Blakelock, Thomas Moran, George de Forest Brush, Charles Marion Russell, Charles Schreyvogel and, of course, Frederic Remington, about whom Mr. McCracken has written *the* authoritative book.

Nowhere else can one find so much information brought together within the covers of a single book. Some of the chapters present little that is new; others such as those on Seth Eastman, Paul Kane, Thomas Moran, et cetera, are among the best accounts of those artists. Still others, such as the one on Schreyvogel, present material never before published. Thus the book, in addition to being a general survey of the subject, contains original source material for all future treatments of the pictorial history of the Old West.

At the end is a "Biographical Check List of Western Artists," with brief notes on over ninety additional artists who painted the Old West. The list, though incomplete, as the author points out, is most useful. It includes a surprising number of artists about whom we know little or whose work is, for the time at least, lost to us and demonstrates clearly how much research and publication is yet to be done in this field. The list may well serve as a spur to students to make further research, casting their nets beyond the more familiar names.

The book is appealing in format and the illustrations are many and interesting—often little known or unusual. In short it is a book that will delight those interested in the "Old West."

Los Angeles County (Cal.) Museum MARVIN C. ROSS

Edward Hicks, Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom. By ALICE FORD. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. xvi + 161 pages, 42 illustrations, biblio., index. $8.50.)

To search out the truth underlying legend, to write understandingly and sympathetically of another time and of a peculiar people, not one's own, requires insight, intelligence and feeling. In her biography of Edward Hicks, early 19th-century Quaker minister, coach-painter, and primitive artist of Newtown, Pennsylvania, Alice Ford has done justice

to a man whom even Friends often found they could more readily respect than love. From a study of a remarkable collection of family letters and papers, news clippings, court records, shop ledgers, memoirs, journals, and the paintings produced by Hicks, she has not only reconstructed a life but has made clear why that life developed in just the way it did.

It was perhaps Edward Hicks' misfortune that he was so entangled in the Quaker controversy initiated by his cousin Elias Hicks, resulting in the tragic Hicksite Separation, that a major part of his intellectual and emotional energy was spent in fighting a battle that hardly seems worth the cost. To Hicks, however, as Miss Ford makes clear, that battle seemed far more important than the succession of oil paintings he was producing—paintings which have been exhibited recently in the foremost galleries of this country and Europe. He made these pictures notwithstanding the low opinion Quakers held of art and artists. Hicks shared that opinion, though he distinguished between his own folk art, which he justified as "within the bounds of innocence and usefulness," and fine art which he condemned as trifling and a vanity of "the world's people." Miss Ford appears to have missed this distinction in Hicks' mind, so that to her it seems outrageous for him to condemn the very art he was practicing.

Since the available records relate more to the religious than to the artistic life of the man, it is natural that this biography is heavily weighted on that side, justifiable inasmuch as "the well-spring of his genius was his spirit." His paintings grew out of his mental and emotional life. As Miss Ford suggests, the theme of the peaceable kingdom of Isaiah, painted perhaps a hundred times by Hicks, may have represented his own longing for the peace he did not find in his active life. He was often opinionated, vain, ranting, irascible, now wise, now warped, inconsistent, with a talent for invective that made Friends dread his appearance in Meeting. His family life was happy, however, and there were many who came to hold him in affectionate reverence.

The stature of Hicks as a painter is somewhat controversial from the fact that he was primarily a copyist, assembling his figures by collage; or as Miss Ford kindly puts it, he relied on indirect inspiration. She points out, however, that this is not true of some of his farmscapes, and even in his most direct copies something of genius is added so that his work has his own inimitable style and is capable of arousing admiration and emotion.

Alice Ford is an authority on the work of primitive artists, as shown by her volume *Pictorial Folk Art, New England to California*, ranked as one of the "100 Best Books of 1949." This first full-length biography of such an artist, handsomely bound and including among its forty-two illustrations twenty-eight reproductions of his works—three in full color—is a valuable addition to the history of art in America.

Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana OPAL THORNBURG

R. R. Bowker, Militant Liberal. By E. McClung Fleming. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952. 410 pages, biblio. $5.00.)

The life of Mr. Bowker, who died in 1933 at the age of 85, might not have received this competent and extended attention if two scholars, Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia and Mr. Fleming, doing advanced studies under him, had not found social and political history at the turn of the century greatly illuminated by the extensive papers which Mr. Bowker left available. These papers Mr. Nevins found useful in the preparation of his biography of Cleveland, and Mr. Fleming also had access to this material and has made important use of it.

It is the completeness of source material, covering a period of our history which is only just beginning to be thoroughly studied, that gives this book its value both as the picture of a rare spirit and as the record of a useful citizen whose leadership gave shape to the period of his activity.

It was in the last fifteen years of his long life that I knew Mr. Bowker in the publishing business which he had headed for half a century and in the field of book-trade and library journalism which he had made peculiarly his own. Through the *Publishers' Weekly* and *Library Journal* he had recorded and given leadership to a period of expanding activity in American cultural development. One of the founders, in 1876, of the American Library Association, he never was to lose touch with the profession's programs. Mr. Fleming's picture of this phase of Mr. Bowker's life is documented by a well-balanced use of the extensive resources.

But, devoted as he was to the gains of the book world, which he always considered his primary interest, it will be seen from Mr. Fleming's studies that his contributions to political and social reform were the greatest of his accomplishments, particularly in the last quarter of the century, when he labored with organizing genius and with the spirit of a crusader in the movements of the Fair Trade League, Post Office Reform, Young Scratchers, Mugwumps, Society for Political Education, Civil Service Reform League, New York Reform Club, Citizens Union, Gold Democrats, Anti-Imperialist League. There was no liberal movement in half a century that did not call him into action, and again and again his ardor and his gifts of writing, speaking and organizing placed him in the seat of influence for progress. He worked side by side with such men as George William Curtis, E. L. Godkin, George Foster Peabody, George Haven Putnam, Carl Schurz, Everett P. Wheeler, Edwin M. Shepard, and others of the same reform spirit. His letters to the press were numberless, trenchant, and effective; pamphlets, appeals, by-laws came from his ready pen. The election of Seth Low to the mayoralty of New York, and of Cleveland to the White House, were events in which Mr. Bowker's influence was strongly felt.

Mr. Bowker's executive capacity in business was remarkable, and from 1890 to 1899 he was the vice president of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company when electricity was just coming into the community; and he

held to high standards of municipal-corporation relations and resigned rather than to lower these. He helped to re-organize the New York *Times* in 1896 and was offered the editorship. Later he served for many years, in spite of his increasing blindness (finally total), as vice president of the DeLaval companies.

In this biography Mr. Fleming has written an important and carefully documented story of a critical period in American social and political change.

New York City FREDERIC G. MELCHER

Wild Colonial Boys. By FRANK CLUNE. (Sidney and London: Angus and Robertson, 1948; Anglobooks, first American edition, 1952. xxi + 657 pages, biblio., illus., $5.00.)

Those who have seen the recent film "The Quiet Man" will recognize the song:

> He was a Wild Colonial Boy,
> Jack Donahoo by name,
> Of poor but honest parents,
> Brung up in Castlemaine.
>
> He robbed the wealthy squatters,
> Their stock he did destroy;
> A terror to Australia
> Was the Wild Colonial Boy.

This is one of many ballads quoted by Frank Clune in his story of the Weddin Mountains bushrangers of New South Wales, in the 1860's. Native-born Australians, many the sons of transportees from Ireland and some with blackfellow blood, they roamed the bush country back of Sydney branding stray cattle, stealing horses, holding up stores and stages, until inevitable collision with the colonial police. The author recounts the exploits of bands led by John Piesley, "Darkie" Gardiner, and Ben Hall, desperadoes as audacious and notorious in their own land as Jesse James or Billy the Kid here. In fact, the pioneer history of Australia had many close parallels with our own "Wild West." The Guyong gold rush of 1851 was started by a returned '49er; there followed anti-Chinese riots, vigilantes, squatters, stockmen, outlaws, and troopers guided by aboriginal trackers. Some of the bushrangers died boots on; others "did the dance on nothing."

Mr. Clune's account effectively blends recorded fact, legend and ballad. Though dialogue is seldom suitable in historical writing, he makes dramatic use of it. There are many lively Australianisms for which the American edition might have supplied a glossary.

New York City JOHN E. PARSONS

Geography in the Making: The American Geographical Society, 1851–1951. By John Kirtland Wright, with a foreword by Richard Upjohn Light, President of the Society. (New York: The American Geographical Society, 1952. xxi + 437 pages, illus., biblio., index. $5.00.)

The author of this centennial volume, formerly Librarian (1920–1937) and Director (1937–1949) of the American Geographical Society, is *the* authority on the Society's history and accomplishments. His three years of intensive work on this book since his retirement in 1949 have resulted in what is little short of a masterpiece.

During the first half-century of its existence, the American Geographical Society promoted interest in scientific geography through a sustained program of lectures by explorers, scientists, and scholars in related fields; through its growing library of books and maps; through correspondence and exchanges with similar societies in other countries; and through occasional participation in geographical controversies. But during this period perhaps the greatest contribution of the Society's leadership, especially that of Judge Charles P. Daly, President from 1864 to 1899, was simply to keep the organization alive. Great as was the desire of the membership to aid many worthy projects of exploration and research, the Society's limited resources had to be applied mainly to securing adequate quarters, making essential purchases for their collections, and obtaining the services of competent employees. Lacking sufficient nourishment, as it were, an overemphasis had to be placed upon means of subsistence.

Having recently done research at the Society on Judge Daly, with expert guidance from Dr. Wright, I am familiar at first hand only with the materials available for this early period. Hesitating, therefore, to pass judgment in a matter often determined largely by source materials, I am nevertheless unconvinced that only half as many pages should have been devoted to the Society's first half-century as to its second fifty years. It seems to me that Judge Daly's role in the building of the Society during a most critical period of its history is underrated by the author (and I have argued the point with him in amicable sessions), but this disagreement can probably be chalked up to a biographer's jealousy of fame bestowed upon others than his own subject.

Administrative and financial problems continued to dominate the Society's concerns until the early years of this century, when a substantial bequest from its late President, Judge Daly, and the generous gifts of the philanthropist, Archer M. Huntington, dominant figure in AGS affairs from 1900 to 1915, provided the American Geographical Society with its magnificent building on Broadway between 157th and 158th Streets.

With the appointment of Dr. Isaiah Bowman as Director in 1915 the Society entered upon its period of greatest accomplishment. Under the direction of Dr. Bowman, who served until 1937, and of his successor,

Dr. Wright, the AGS became more scientific and rendered especially valuable service in both World Wars. Though its contribution to the science of air navigation alone would justify its existence, we can cite a great variety of valuable activities which have become part of the Society's program since 1915: sponsorship of research expeditions to many parts of the world; original research, cartography and publication in the Hispanic-American field; publication of the scholarly *Geographical Review*, as well as many books and monographs; cooperation with the public schools in making Society facilities available to students and teachers; and research and instruction in surveying. The activities of this little-known learned society are carried on with a minimum of fanfare, but no one who reads Dr. Wright's book can fail to be impressed with the vital role the American Geographical Society plays in the public service and the advancement of science.

Geography in the Making is the last word on the first hundred years of a society which occupies an important place in the life of New York City, in the history of the American nation and in the chronicle of geographical science. The author's style, somewhat in the tradition of the literary historians of the last century, represents a magnificent accomplishment in the weaving together of statistical data, vast quantities of information and personal ancedotes into a swift-moving, delightfully readable story. While capturing the color, the drama and the spirit of personalities and events, Dr. Wright has compromised neither accuracy of fact nor fullness of detail. His enthusiasm is contagious, and even the casual reader must yield to an aroused interest in what, at first glance, may appear to be a rather heavy subject. All in all, Dr. Wright has made a most interesting and valuable contribution with this authoritative and exhaustive study of the American Geographical Society.

Union College HAROLD E. HAMMOND

Of Plymouth Plantation 1620–1647. By WILLIAM BRADFORD. Edited with an introduction by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. xliii + 448 pages, index, $6.00.)

You may have caught a glimpse of the manuscript in its glass case in the library of the Boston State House, and you may even have read one or the other of the five editions published before this, but you cannot really say you have enjoyed Bradford's history of Plymouth Plantation to the fullest until you have dipped into the pages of this handsome printing. For Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, who has taken the trouble to re-edit Bradford's classic chronicle, has not only happily modernized spelling and punctuation, but also provided us with an unusually perceptive introduction.

Since Morison is the scholar who has come closest in our day to imagining the ordeals of the Pilgrim fathers in all their intensity, his

opinions are well worth pondering. One of his convictions is that Bradford did not tell us the whole truth when he reported that his "dearest consort, accidentally falling overboard, was drowned in the harbor." "It may be," says Morison, "that he suspected (as do we) that Dorothy Bradford took her own life, after gazing for six weeks at the barren sand dunes of Cape Cod. For we have it from other tenderhearted women who came to New England among the pioneers, that their hearts grew faint and sick when they first beheld that wild-looking Northern land."

All of us, of course, have our notions about the Pilgrim fathers, and by carefully rereading Bradford, we can tell how far we have slipped from the truth. The old chronicler was hardly an impartial critic of the Church of England, but he was much more tolerant of Roger Williams than you might suppose. This rebel he found "a man godly and zealous," even if "very unsettled in his judgment."

Surely it was meet and right for the American Antiquarian Society to stage a gargantuan dinner back in 1897, when the precious manuscript was at last returned to the Bay State from its hiding place in the Bishop of London's library. Professor Morison has fortunately reproduced the menu—all seven courses.

The New-York Historical Society WAYNE ANDREWS

Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701–1950. By the Rev. H. P. THOMPSON; foreword by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952; London: S. P. C. K., 1951. xv + 760 pages, biblio., index, illus. $8.50.)

This history gives the picture of two hundred and fifty years' activity on the part of the oldest missionary organization of the Church of England from its modest foundation in 1701, under the leadership of the Rev. Thomas Bray, to the present when the Society has missionaries scattered from the Yukon to Tristan da Cunha, Korea to South Africa. The S. P. G. has had its periods of prosperity, and times of virtual stagnation, but at the present, despite the discouraging situation in England, there is a great loyalty among its supporters which speaks for the brilliant record of the past.

It is worthy of notice that the Society has sent out missionaries who have been champions of the rights of native people—contrary to the easy assumption that the Church of England followed the army to aid in the subjugation and exploitation of the conquered. In New Zealand, Bishop George Augustus Selwyn was the champion of the Maoris (p. 223); after the Boxer Rebellion when foreign powers were squeezing indemnities out of the Chinese government, the S.P.G. refused reparations for loss of property and life, a not inconsiderable sacrifice (p. 676). The climax of this record is seen in the martyrdom of Bishop John Coleridge Patterson

of Melanesia. The shock of his death forced Parliament to take action against the kidnapping of the island natives for forced labor (p. 427).

The part of this book which is of greatest interest to students of American history is the relatively small section (pp. 1–103) that is devoted to the foundation of the Society and its first activities in the thirteen colonies. Thomas Bray had firsthand experience of the need of efficient clergy after a sojourn in Maryland. Shortly after his return to England, the S.P.G. was organized to provide clergy and means for their support in the ". . . Plantacons, Colonies and Factories. . ." of the Empire. From 1701 until the close of the American Revolution, the religious interests of our country was its major concern. Its activities went beyond the recruiting of clergy; as a matter of fact the S.P.G. was largely responsible for the founding of King's College, New York, whose first president, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, was a missionary of the "Venerable Society" (p. 73). The S.P.G. records for this period are soon to be microfilmed by the Library of Congress so as to make available in this country such valuable material on Colonial history.

Bringing such a mass of information into manageable size has been an accomplishment. Often, however, the activity of the S.P.G. has been almost lost in accounts of the colonial missionary work of the English Church. In such a large undertaking there have naturally been some mistakes. The first American bishop in China was William Jones (not James) Boone (p. 440). The author is careful in judgment, notably in the case of the supposed consecration of John Talbot as bishop in the Non-Juror succession. In this dark and perplexing question, the author is content simply to give the evidence pro and con (pp. 64–65).

West Park, New York JULIEN GUNN, O.H.C.

Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831. By DAVID DE SOLA POOL. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. xiv + 543 pages, illus., biblio., index. $10.00.)

To the approaching celebration of the tercentenary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States (1954-1955) this book, written by the Minister of the first Jewish Congregation in this country, Shearith Israel, is a most appropriate introduction. Dr. David de Sola Pool has, with this volume, made a fine contribution to American Jewish history. He has taken the epitaphs of the second-oldest extant cemetery on Manhattan Island, located at Chatham Square, as his starting point and suffused them with life from the records of his Congregation, of Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, of the Lyons, Oppenheim, Rosenbach, Moses, and Kohut Collections in the American Jewish Historical Society, from private papers, and from the relevant publications of The New-York Historical Society, the American Jewish Historical Society, and others.

The result is not merely a listing of tumular inscriptions nor a history of the various "Abodes of Life" (Hebrew for cemeteries) occupied by the ancestors of the members of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue of New York City, successively at Chatham Square, Eleventh Street, Twenty-first Street, and Cypress Hills, L.I., but a succinct story of the social, religious, and economic aspects of this early Jewish community as part of the greater community in which they lived.

One of the most fascinating chapters among the many interesting ones that precede the major biographical part of the work is that on "Sermons in Stones." Here is given a description of the symbolism of the tombstones, their simplicity of line, and the five languages used: Hebrew, Portuguese, which English had displaced by the mid-18th century, Spanish, and Latin. The tombstones record the vernacular of Colonial New York Jews and testify to their land of origin, showing that the Ashkenazim, already in the majority by 1728, from 1776 onward outnumbered the Sephardim in ever-increasing numbers. From 1654 to 1825 the ritual was Sephardic, but the two groups shared the same synagogue, the same cemetery, and contributed officers to the Congregation impartially. Dr. Pool concludes this chapter with a study of the names of the members of this early Jewish community and of such biostatic statistics as those pertaining to inbreeding, which contributed to such genealogical difficulties as distinguishing, for instance, the four Esthers and the four Rebeccas Gomez who lie beneath the stones.

The author has also presented "original and little known illustrations to help evoke the spirit of living personalities." This he does in a charming style in 179 biographical sketches of individuals who had originally been buried in a plot of ground purchased in 1682 and in 1728–9 by members of the Bueno Mesquita and Gomez families, respectively. Says the author: "It is eloquent evidence of old New York's liberal story that during two and a half centuries of history of the old 'Abode of Life' on Chatham Square there is no record of the willful violation of a grave, even from the days when body snatching was not uncommon." The last burial in this cemetery took place in 1833, and with the gradual growth of the metropolis Shearith Israel's cemeteries moved along with it until the final move to the present-day Beth Haim ("Abode of Life") across the river. These biographies form the major part of the work (pp. 187–485). In them Dr. Pool meticulously deciphers the epitaphs, translates the non-English inscriptions, and even clarifies the discrepancies in Hebrew and English dates. In length, the biographies range from the 30 pages devoted to Gershom Mendes Seixas, the patriot preacher of the Revolution, to less than three complete lines on subjects for whom sources were unavailable.

After a reluctant admission that the location of the first Jewish cemetery of this city, granted in 1656, cannot be identified, the book concludes with alphabetical and chronological registers of the graves, a list

from the register of the Congregation Shearith Israel of burials in the Chatham Square Cemetery for which no grave can be identified, a glossary, a bibliography, and an index.

Despite our indebtedness to Dr. Pool for enabling us to relive the past of the pioneer Jewish settlers in old New York, the volume has a major defect in its lack of annotated references and specific citation of sources. In his monographs in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* Dr. Pool has amply demonstrated his ability to annotate with necessary footnotes, and it is hoped that he may supplement his *Portraits Etched in Stone* at some future date with the notes to this volume, for one senses in reading this book his intimate familiarity with the available sources, both printed and unprinted.

A few observations remain to be made. The portraits reproduced are not always identified as to artist or location; for example: the miniatures of Simon and Grace Nathan are by Henry Inman and the portrait of Jacob Hart, Sr., is by Philip Parisen and all three are owned by the American Jewish Historical Society; the portrait of Gershom Mendes Seixas, owned by Columbia University, was copied by James Francis Brown from a miniature in the possession of the late Annie Nathan Meyer in 1929. Dr. Pool's statement that 5,000 Jews left Brazil early in 1654 seems to be an exaggeration. That Aaron Lopez was "the greatest sea trader of his day in North America," that Gershom Mendes Seixas "was present at the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the United States," and that Washington "was among those present at the wedding" of Manuel Noah cannot be substantiated. They belong rather to the world of legend and myth. Also one would like to see detailed authentication of the claims on behalf of some of the biographical subjects who performed military service or rendered financial aid during the Revolution. Dr. Pool has given us some genealogical charts. He has made use of the records of the late Dr. Walter Kraus. He might have referred to other genealogical charts available in other sources. But these are all minor points of criticism.

All of us are indebted to Dr. Pool for adding so much to our knowledge of our country's first Jewish community in a volume so nobly and readably presented and so beautifully published.

American Jewish Historical Society ISIDORE S. MEYER

Currier and Ives' America: A Panorama of the Mid-Nineteenth Century Scene; Eighty Prints in Full Color, with an Introduction and Commentary by the Editor. Edited by COLIN SIMKIN (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1952. Unpaged, 80 color plates. $10.00.)

As a picture book *Currier and Ives' America* should prove extremely popular and a most successful venture for the publisher. The subject

matter contained in the 80 plates is varied enough to appeal to people of all ages and intelligences. All students of American history should know this book and all historians of American art should study the plates, unless of course they have access to the original prints. On the whole, the very large pictorial record of American life published by Currier and Ives has been either rejected or overlooked by our art historians. It may take still more time for the many Currier & Ives lithographs to be properly appreciated by the academic mind. The fact that most of the prints indicate the date of publication in the copyright line should increase their documentary value.

Mr. Simkin has written an informative introduction, tracing the beginning of lithography and the history of the firm of Currier and Ives, which, after two decades of lithography by "N. Currier" alone, was in business under that name from 1857 to 1907. He then tells of the revival of interest in the long-forgotten prints which was led by the late Harry T. Peters, but no mention is made of Mr. Peters' monumental two-volume work on the firm, nor of his more popular one-volume book which was published in 1942. Other books on Currier & Ives are nowhere mentioned. The author has also omitted any reference to Mr. Peters' collection and to any other collection except that of the Travelers Insurance Company, from which all the plates were made.

The illustrations in this book represent a small cross-section of several thousand prints published by the firm. Twenty headings such as "Hunting Becomes a Sport," "Rural Enterprise," "Winds of Trade (Clipper Ships)," and "Sunday Diversions," are each illustrated by four plates. This classification is a happy method of presenting the prints, for very few people would have the curiosity or the patience to inspect even the eighty plates here reproduced in color without some sort of subject order. The book is a good anthology. And if the present publication is successful we may perhaps have a second volume from Mr. Simkin in a few years time, for he has among the remaining Currier & Ives subjects a great field of delineation to search.

Smith College Museum of Art MARY BARTLETT COWDREY

The Campaign on New Britain. By LT. COL. FRANK O. HOUGH, USMCR, and MAJOR JOHN A. CROWN, USMCR. ([Washington, D.C.:] Historical Branch, U.S. Marine Corps, 1952. viii + 220 pages, illus., maps, biblio., index. $3.75.)

The Genteel Circle: Bayard Taylor and His New York Friends. By RICHARD CARY. Cornell Studies in American History, Literature and Folklore, No. 5. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952. 44 pages, biblio., notes.)

Red Jacket: Last of the Seneca. By ARTHUR C. PARKER. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. xi + 228 pages, index, illus., map. $3.00.)

Red Jacket was a professional speaker among the Seneca Indians of New York State at the time of the American Revolution and thereafter. He achieved notoriety both for his majestic treaty oratory and for his stubborn resistance against white interference with the Indian way of life, on the one hand, and Indian guerilla warfare, on the other. His generation was indeed the last which retained a full sense of identification with the past; after his time (he died in 1830) the Seneca were truly cut adrift from their ancient moorings. He fought to preserve a glory which daily was fading away; and though he failed, his struggle earned him the respect of contemporaries and posterity alike.

Arthur Parker's scientific writings on the Iroquois Indians are well known to ethnologists. Although this biography of Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, does not pretend to be a scholarly work, being rather intended for boys, it bears the imprint of its author's solid knowledge of Seneca history and culture. Rarely does one experience in reading "juveniles" so full a sense of reality as this book imparts; it is a simple account of a great man's life, but not a superficial one. Although the study is not documented and there is no bibliography, and although fictionalized conversations are introduced to give a flavor of immediacy to incidents which are actually well but dustily described in the sources, Parker has made extensive use both of his own ethnological knowledge and of the primary sources, such as treaty journals, early memoirs and biographies, and military campaign accounts. The specialist can, of course, argue with some interpretations, omissions and matters of fact, but the general structure of forces and events is well told. Attractive additions to the volume are the line drawings by Jack Moment and the endpaper map of the Iroquois country in the day of Red Jacket.

Juveniles are often not only superficial, but cold. Parker's biography of Red Jacket is a welcome exception. It can be recommended as a most excellent book for younger readers, not only for the intrinsic interest of its subject, but for the humanistic warmth and balanced sense of values with which it is inspired.

University of Pennsylvania ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Centennial and Bicentennial: Nathaniel Rochester 1752, Thomas Rochester Shepard 1852. By CHARLES SHEPARD. (Rochester, N.Y.: Charles Shepard, 1952. 16 pages. $1.00.)

A descendant's tribute to Nathaniel (1752–1831), founder of Rochester, N.Y., and to Thomas Rochester Shepard (1852–1928), prominent lawyer and Assistant Attorney in the Interior Department.

Melville's Early Life and Redburn. By William H. Gilman. (N.Y.: New York University Press, 1951. ix + 378 pages, illus., appendices, index. $5.00.)

Mr. Gilman has set out to correct the widely accepted thesis that Melville's *Redburn* is almost pure autobiography. To do so he has made an exhaustive study of the scanty sources for Melville's early years in New York City and the upper Hudson Valley. By comparing Melville's own history with the history of his hero Redburn, Gilman comes to the conclusion that the novel is as much the creation of Melville's imagination as the product of his memory. Though his recreation of Melville's boyhood at times leans rather heavily on logical suppositions and strained analysis of Melville's early letters and writings, his case is on the whole well-argued, and leaves little doubt of the unreliability of *Redburn* as a source of exact information on Melville's own life.

The New-York Historical Society David H. Wallace

The Irony of American History. By Reinhold Niebuhr. (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. xi + 174 pages. $2.50.)

A survey of America's position today in the light of our history, aimed at pointing up some ironic contrasts between early ideals and present reality. Dr. Niebuhr thus states his thesis:

"Our modern liberal culture of which American civilization is such an unalloyed exemplar, is involved in many ironic refutations of its original pretensions of virtue, wisdom, and power. Insofar as communism has already elaborated some of these into noxious forms of tyranny, we are involved in the double irony of confronting evils which were distilled from illusions, not generically different from our own. Insofar as communism tries to cover the ironic contrast between its original dreams of justice and virtue and its present realities by more and more desperate efforts to prove its tyranny to be 'democracy' and its imperialism to be the achievement of universal peace, it has already dissolved irony into pure evil." (Preface, viii.)

John Adams, Scholar. By Alfred Iacuzzi. (N.Y.: S. F. Vanni, 1952. xiv + 306 pages, appendices, biblio., index. $5.00.)

"An intellectual biography," based primarily on the French and Italian sources of John Adams's ideas. Professor Iacuzzi discusses Adams's linguistic studies, his library, the sources of *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* and of the *Discourses on Davila* (with a previously unknown essay written as a conclusion to the latter), his work as a translator, his relations with the *philosophes*, his studies in economics and religion, and his favorite reading.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

April 1: "Circus Time," a special exhibition showing the history and development of the American circus, opened in the South Gallery on the main floor. Meeting of the Regents of the New York City Chapters, the Daughters of the American Revolution.

April 5: Miss Ruth Harsha, organist, presented a program of Easter music in the auditorium, and continued to give organ concerts on Sunday afternoons throughout the spring.

April 7: A special program of old-time films of great actresses for members and friends.

April 11: "Let's Go to the Circus," a series of fifteen circus films for children and adults in connection with the exhibition "Circus Time," was inaugurated with the showing of "Here Comes the Circus," "Circus Day in Our Town," and "American Rodeo." The series was continued on succeeding Saturday mornings, as follows: *April 18:* "Circus Day"; *April 25:* "Circus at the Zoo," "Let's Go to the Circus," and "Clyde Beatty's Animal Thrills"; *May 2:* "Zoo's Who," "Carnival at the Zoo," and "Elephants"; *May 9:* "Sawdust Sidelights" and "One Day Stand"; and *May 16:* "Who's Who at the Bronx Zoo," "How Do You Zoo," and "A Circus Wakes Up."

April 11: "Old Homelands of Americans," a series of travel films showing some of the mother countries of Americans, was inaugurated with four films on France. On succeeding Saturday afternoons films about other countries were shown, as follows (* indicating films of pre-Iron Curtain date): *April 18:* Italy; *April 25:* Czechoslovakia*; *May 2:* The Netherlands; *May 9:* Palestine; *May 16:* Scandinavia; *May 23:* China* and Ireland; *June 6:* England; *June 13:* Puerto Rico; *June 20:* Poland*; *June 27:* Germany.

April 22: "Old Trees of New York," a special Arbor Day exhibit, opened.

May 5: Lecture for members and friends: "The Six Nations of New York and Pennsylvania," by Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace, Editor, *Pennsylvania History*.

May 8: Mr. John Saunders, Chairman of the Department of Public Instruction of the American Museum of Natural History and his staff met here with Mr. Bilodeau.

May 13: Mr. Edgar B. Fuller of the Program Bureau of the New York Telephone Company addressed a large group of Junior High School students on "Historic New York State," illustrated with color slides.

May 16: The Kingsbridge Historical Society met here for a tour of the Museum.

May 28: Meeting of The Society of American Historians.

June 1: Opening of "The Healing Art of Old New York," a special exhibition in connection with the New York meetings of the American Medical Association.

June 8: Annual Strawberry Festival. Dr. Sigmund Spaeth presented "New York's History in Song," a musical talk with piano illustrations.
June 20: Meeting of the Association of Laboratory Assistants in the New York City High Schools.
June 22: Meeting of the School Art League for the presentation of the annual Scholarship Ceremonies.

On July 12th will be opened to the public an exhibition celebrating the centennial of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry's expedition which opened Japan to American trade. On Friday mornings throughout July a story hour will be conducted in the Society's garden by representatives of the Children's Division of the New York Public Library. The Society's building will be closed throughout August.

Since our last issue the Director and members of the staff represented the Society extra-murally on a number of occasions. Mrs. Meryle R. Evans continued her Monday morning broadcasts over WNYC on "Around New York." On April 28th Dr. Vail addressed The Readers Club of the Riverside Church on the history of the early circus in America, and on the same day Mr. Bilodeau was representative of our Department of Education at a meeting of Assistant Superintendents of New York City schools with heads of education departments of the several metropolitan museums at The Brooklyn Museum. On June 2d Dr. Vail presided at a meeting of the Museum Council of New York City, of which he is President. On June 7th Miss Dorothy C. Barck, as Librarian of this Society, attended the Convocation of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Seminary's Library and honoring Professor Alexander Marx, its founder and director. On June 17th Mr. Francis W. Bilodeau represented the Society at the final meeting of the year of the New York Film Council.

Several new honors have come to our Director, Dr. R.W.G. Vail. On May 13th Dr. Vail was initiated as an alumni member of Theta Chapter of New York, Phi Beta Kappa, at its 71st annual reunion at Cornell University. On June 7th Dr. Vail received the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, at the annual commencement of Clark University. He has also been elected to the Board of Directors of the Graphic History Society of America.

Upon Dr. Louis C. Wills, Second Vice President of this Society, was conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*, by Wagner College, Staten Island, at its 68th annual commencement on June 6th.

Dr. Arthur H. Merritt, a distinguished member of our Board of Trustees, received the Tufts College Dental School Award for Leadership in Periodontology at the Fourth Annual Berkshire Conference of the College, at Lenox, Massachusetts, on June 14th. And on June 23d he received the Centennial Award of the Children's Aid Society for having organized in New York City in 1907 the first dental clinic in an American public school.

The current exhibition relating to "The Healing Art in Old New York," which will continue through July 12, 1953, includes the following contemporary items relating to the yellow fever epidemic of 1795, besides the Bellevue Hospital record of Alexander Anderson illustrated in Dr. Beekman's article, page 221 herein:

Richard Bayley, *An Account of the Epidemic Fever which prevailed in the City of New York, during part of the Summer and Fall of 1795* (New York: 1796).

M. L. Davis, *A Brief Account of the Epidemical Fever which lately prevailed in the City of New York; with the Different Proclamations, Reports and Letters of gov. Jay, gov. Mifflin, The Health Committee of New York &c. upon the Subject* . . . (New York: 1795).

Valentine Seaman, M.D., *An Account of the Epidemic Yellow Fever, as it appeared in the City of New-York in the year 1795* . . . (New York: 1796).

Noah Webster, jun., compiler, *A Collection of Papers on the Subject of Bilious Fevers, prevalent in the United States for a few years past* (New York: 1796).

RECENT ACCESSIONS

NINETY-THREE pamphlets, speeches, and reports, 1855–1896, relating to currency, finance, and banking. *Gift of Mr. Chester Baylis.*

Manuscript Minutes of the Committee of Health of the City of New York to prevent the introduction and spreading of infectious diseases, September 13, 1793–February 13, 1796. *Gift of Mrs. Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Sr.*

Four hundred and sixty-one negatives of New York City streets prior to subway construction, 1900–1920; 269 photographs of Brooklyn surface and elevated railroad cars. *Gift of the Board of Transportation of the City of New York.*

Two letters to Alderman Jacob B. Taylor, 1826; seven indentures, 1718–1765, relating to the southwest corner of Broadway and present Morris Street, and seven other manuscripts; toy sword, *c.* 1890, given to Graham Brush by his uncle, Brig. Gen. Benjamin Morris Whitlock, who was on the staff of Governor Flower of New York. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Graham Brush.*

Needlework picture of Yale University. *Gift of Mr. George H. Danforth.*

Forty-six American and English engraved heraldic bookplates. *Gift of Brigadier General John Ross Delafield.*

Two photographs of Abraham Lincoln by Alexander Hesler at Springfield, Ill., June 1860, made from two rediscovered glass negatives now owned by King V. Hostick; four pen-and-ink drawings by Vernon Howe Bailey; sixteen etchings of Williamsburg, Va., by E. Horter; six watercolor drawings of American uniforms from the Revolutionary War through World War I, by Gordon Hake, 1943, for the Berwind-White Coal Mining Co. *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Manuscript diary of Henry Haas (1802–1872), of his passage from Germany to Baltimore, 1831; twelve letters to him after his settlement in Jefferson County, New York; an account book of the Haas family there; and 22 pieces of his printed and manuscript music. *Gift of his grandson, Mr. S. Ward Haas.*

Forty-seven picture postcards of New York State, particularly in the Catskills. *Gift of Miss Sarah R. Haines.*

Letters to Walter Graeme Eliot, father of the donor, from American college presidents, with biographical data; 56 photographs of American college presidents and 13 photographs of other business and professional men; album of photographs of members of the class of 1878, School of Mines, Columbia College. *Gift of Mrs. Eliot James.*

Manuscript record book kept by Oliver Ingraham Lay, A.N.A. (1845–1890), of all his portraits and other paintings, 1861–1889; chain worn by Edwin Booth as Hamlet and given by him to Oliver I. Lay at the time he painted Booth in costume. *Gift of Mr. Charles Downing Lay, son of the artist.*

"A Scene in Northern New York" by Sanford R. Gifford (1823–1880); oil portrait of "Coco," famous Barnum & Bailey Circus clown, by DeWitt M. Lockman, 1887. *Gift of Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman.*

Four photographs of entrance hall and drawing room of the Seabright, N.J., home of Mr. and Mrs. James Alexander Scrymser, and a photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Scrymser about 1900. *Gift of Mrs. Robert McCurdy Marsh.*

Two painted fiddle-back chairs used by the donor's family in Wilton, Conn. *Gift of Miss Grace B. Morgan.*

Peddler's cart; two circus band wagons; three menagerie cages; four dolls; 18th-century needlework picture. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Model of Delaware & Hudson Canal Boat No. 1147, made by the donor; the original canal boat, built in 1883, was commanded by Captain Anthony O'Boyle, the donor's father. *Gift of Mr. James A. O'Boyle.*

"Origin of Steam Navigation," a view of Collect Pond, drawn and lithographed by J. Penniman, 1846. *Gift of Mr. Irving S. Olds.*

Fifty annual reports of the Central Railroad of New Jersey; 20 recent railroad timetables; 45 books and pamphlets relating principally to railroads; four deck plans of ships and 17 photostats and photographs of steamers. *Gift of Mr. Joseph O. Osgood.*

Twenty-two posters of Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus. *Gift of Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey.*

Sixty-two plates of posters reproduced by the Imprimerie Chaix, in the series "Les Maitres de l'Affiche." *Gift of Mr. George F. Robinson.*

Album containing 22 photographs, 1903, of officers of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. *Gift of Reverend Dr. W. W. Rockwell.*

Photograph of residence of Cyrus Clark, Riverside Drive and 90th Street. *Gift of his daughter, Mrs. Gustav Schwab.*

Eleven rosters of Squadron A., N.G., N.Y., 1898–1911. *Gift of Mr. Abel I. Smith, Jr., secretary of the Association of Ex-Members of Squadron A.*

Four miniature silver spoons, *c.* 1850, which belonged to Cornelia Brinkman Kip (1848–1938), great-aunt of the donor. *Gift of Miss Helen Burr Smith.*

Model of tanker S.S. *Socony* which was engaged in coastwise service for the Standard Oil Company of New York from 1913 to 1930. *Gift of the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company.*

Wedding dress worn by the donors' mother about 1870; black lace parasol. *Gift of Mrs. Edward J. Turnbull and Mr. Frank Squier.*

Volume of mounted clippings of "Our New York Letters," written by its special correspondent and printed in the Troy, N.Y., *Daily Times*, 1868–1872; resolution of the Common Council's appreciation to Edward K. Collins for his establishment of the New York and Liverpool Line of steamers, lithograph, 1851; two lithographs of the Common Council's resolution of gratitude to the directors of the New York and Erie Rail Road, 1851; Daniel F. Tiemann's certificate of honorary membership in the Scott Life Guard, 1859. *Gift of Mr. Louis S. Tiemann.*

Collection of lead soldiers, *c.* 1870 and 1917. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Bayard Verplanck.*

Fifty-seven architectural drawings by the late Christian F. Rosborg, of residences and buildings in New York City and vicinity in the 1920's and 1930's. *Gift of Mr. Lloyd W. Weed and Miss Jennie Barnitz.*

Oil portraits of Bishop Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk (1791–1861) and his wife, Eliza Moscrop (1793–1887), by William Sidney Mount. *Bequest of Henry Selden Weller, great-grandson of the subjects.*

A Foundational Catechism of General Knowledge (New York: 1831), by Mrs. Lavinia D. Wright (1805–1869), great-grandmother of the donor; her address before the New-York Vegetarian Society, 1853; two books which belonged to her and to her mother; a three-page letter from Mrs. Wright to her son, Charles Washington Wright, 1846. *Gift of Mr. Charles Lennox Wright, II.*

Six life sketches of Edwin Booth, made (1880–1882) by Oliver Ingraham Lay, A.N.A., for use in painting his portrait of Booth as Hamlet. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*